

Seven Papers,

VIZ.

I. The *GROUNDS* and *REASONS* of the *LAWS* against *Popery*.

II. The *CHARACTER* of *POPERY*.

III. A Letter to the Author of the *Dutch Design Anatomized*, written by a Citizen of *London*.

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VII. The Growth, the Decay and Changes of Governments described by *POLIBIUS*.

L O N D O N,

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SEVEN PAPERS

I. The GROUNDS and REASONS
20th of the 17th century

II. The CHARACTER of POPULARITY

III. A Letter to the Author of the
Dignity of a Citizen, written by a Citizen
of London

IV. Thoughts on the Project for Repealing the Penal
Laws and Test, with the Honorable Petition
presented to effect it, being a Petition to the House
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V. Memorandum for those that go into the Country to
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House of Commons, and for the People by them

VI. An Account of the Proceedings of a Dispute between
the City and County, concerning the Liberties

VII. The Proceedings of the House of Commons, in the
Year 1701

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The GROUNDS and REASONS of the LAWS against P O P E R Y.

THE Righteousness and Equity of all Laws is best discovered by those Grounds and Reasons, upon which the Legislators proceeded when they thought fit to Enact them: And the only Measure of the Usefulness and Necessity of them, is the greatness of those Evils which they remedy or prevent. And therefore I am of Opinion, That the shortest way both to justify our Ancestours in their Laws against Popery, as also to awaken all Englishmen to a due Execution of them, is to shew they were made upon very good Advice; as will clearly be seen by the Statutes themselves, in their own following Words.

In the 1. Eliz. c. 1. Sect. 1. Speaking of the Act made in the Reign of Philip and Mary, intituled *An Act repealing all Statutes, Articles and Provisions made against the See Apostolick of Rome, &c.* there are these Words, By reason of which Act of Repeal, your said humble Subjects were brought under an Usurped Foreign Power and Authority, and yet do remain in that Bondage. For which Cause the said Act is immediately Repealed, Sect. 2. and the Oath of Supremacy Enacted, Sect. 19. And the rest of that Statute is intended for the utter extinguishment of all Foreign and Usurped Authority.

The next Act against Popery is 5. Eliz. c. 1. of which this is the Preamble. For the Preservation of the Queen's most excellent Highness, her Heirs and Successors, and the Dignity of the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England, and for avoiding both of such Hurts, Perils, Dishonours and Inconveniencies, as have before time befallen, as well to the Queen's Majesties Noble Progenitors, Kings of this Realm, as to the whole Estate thereof, by means of the Jurisdiction and Power of the See of Rome, Unjustly Claimed and Usurped within this Realm and the Dominions thereof, and also of the Dangers by the Favors of the said Usurped Power, at this time grown to Marvellous Outrage and Licentious Boldness, and now requiring more sharp Restraint and Correction of Laws, than hitherto in the time of the Queen's Majesties most mild and merciful Reign have been had, used or established.

13. Eliz. c. 2. After a Rehearsal of the former Act we have these words, And yet nevertheless divers Seditious and very Evil disposed People, without the respect of their duty to Almighty God, or of the Faith and Allegiance which they ought to bear and have to our said Sovereign Lady the Queen, and without all fear and regard had to the said good Law and Statute, or the Pains therein limited, but minding as it should seem, very Seditiously and Unnaturally, not only to bring this Realm, and the Imperial Crown thereof (being in very deed of it self most free) into the Thraldome and Subjection of that Foreign, Usurped,

and Unlawful Jurisdiction, Preheminence and Authority claimed by the said See of Rome, but also to estrange and alienate the minds and hearts of sundry her Majesties Subjects from their dutiful Obedience, and to raise and stir Sedition and Rebellion within this Realm, to the Disturbance of the most happy Peace thereof, have lately procured and obtained to themselves from the said Bishop of Rome, and his said See, divers Bulls and Writings, the effect whereof hath been and is, to Absolve and Reconcile all those that will be contented to forsake their due Obedience to our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, and to yield and subject themselves to the said Feigned, Unlawful and Usurped Authority. These, or whosoever shall ever hereafter procure any manner of Writing from the Bishop or See of Rome, containing anything, matter or cause whatsoever, their Procurers, Abettors or Counsellours, are adjudged High Traitors to the Queen and the Realm, Sect. 3.

23. Eliz. c. 1. For further confirmation of the foregoing Act, it is made High Treason to perswade any from the Religion Established, to the Romish Religion, or to be Reconciled and With-drawn to the Romish Religion, Sect. 2. To aid, maintain or conceal the said Offences is Misprision of Treason, Sect. 3. The Hearing of Mass, is the forfeiture of an Hundred Marks, and Imprisonment for a Year, Sect. 4.

35. Eliz. c. 2. For the better discovering and avoiding of such Traiterous and most dangerous Conspiracies and Attempts as are daily devised and practised against our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty and the Happy Estate of this Common-weal, by sundry Wicked and Seditious Persons, who terming themselves Catholicks, and being (indeed) Spies and Intelligencers not only for her Majesties Foreign Enemies, but also for rebellious and Traiterous Subjects born within her Highness Realms and Dominions, and hiding their most detestable and Devilish purposes under a false pretext of Religion and Conscience, do secretly wander and shift from place to place within this Realm, to Corrupt and Seduce her Majesties Subjects, and to stir them to Sedition and Rebellion. Be it Enacted, that every person above the Age of Sixteen Years Native or Denizen, being a Popish Recusant, shall repair to his abode, and shall not at any time after pass or remove above five Miles from thence under the Penalty of losing all their Goods and Chattels, and Lands, and Hereditaments, during Life, Sect. 1. and 2.

And now we are come to the Gunpowder Treason, of which the Act for a Publick Thanksgiving 3. Jac. c. 1. says thus. An Invention so Inhumane, Barbarous and Cruel, as the like was never before heard of, and was (as some of the Principal Conspirators thereof confess) purposely devised and concluded to be done in the upper House of Parliament, that where sundry Necessary and Religious Laws for Preservation of the Church and State were made, which they falsely and slanderously term cruel Laws, enacted against them and their Religion, both Place and Persons should be all destroyed and blown up at once, which would have turned to the utter ruine of this whole Kingdom.

3. Jac.

3. Jac. c. 4. An Act for the better Discovering and Repressing of Popish Recusants. Forasmuch as it is found by daily Experience, that many his Majesty's Subjects, that adhere in their Hearts to the Popish Religion, by the Infection drawn from thence, and by the wicked and Devilish Counsel of Jesuits, Seminaries and other like Persons Dangerous to the Church and State, are so far perverted in the point of their Loyalties and due Allegiances unto the King's Majesty and the Crown of England, as they are ready to entertain and execute any Treasonable Conspiracies and Practices, as evidently appears by that more than Barbarous and Horrible attempt to have blown up with Gunpowder the King, Queen, Prince, Lords and Commons in the house of Parliament assembled, tending to the utter subversion of the whole State, lately undertaken by the Instigation of Jesuits and Seminaries, and in advancement of their Religion, by their Scholars taught and instructed by them to that purpose, which Attempt by the only Goodness of Almighty God was discovered and defeated. And where divers Persons Popishly affected, do notwithstanding, the better to cover and hide their False hearts, and with the more safety to attend the Opportunity to execute their mischievous Designs, repair some times to Church, to escape the penalty of the Laws in that behalf provided.

For the better Discovery therefore of such persons, and their Evil affections to the King's Majesty, and the State of this his Realm, to the end that being known, their evil purposes may be the better prevented, Be it Enacted, &c.

3. Jac. c. 5. An Act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants. Whereas divers Jesuits, Seminaries, and Popish Priests daily do withdraw many of his Majesty's Subjects from the true Service of Almighty God, and the Religion established within this Realm, unto the Romish Religion, and from their Loyal Obedience to his Majesty, and have of late secretly persuaded divers Recusants and Papists, and encouraged and emboldened them to commit most Damnable Treasons, tending to the overthrow of God's true Religion, the destruction of his Majesty, and his Royal Issue, and the overthrow of the whole State and Commonwealth, if God, of his Goodness and Mercy had not within few hours before the intended time of the Execution thereof, Revealed and Disclosed the same, wherefore to discover and prevent such secret and damnable Conspiracies and Treasons as hereafter may be put in ure by such evil disposed persons, if Remedy be not therefore provided, Be it enacted, that such person as shall first discover to any Justice of the Peace any Recusant or other Person which shall entertain or relieve any Jesuit, Seminary or Popish Priest, or shall discover any Mass to have been said, and the Persons that were present, shall have the third part of the Forfeitures.

And to name no more, the Act for the Test and subscribing the Declaration against Transubstantiation, 25. Car. 2. c. 2. begins thus, For preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants, and quietting the minds of his Majesties good Subjects, Be it Enacted, &c.

From all these several Statutes it appears, That Popery is not Proscribed and Prosecuted as it is an *Erroneous Belief*, and a *Ridiculous Persuasion*, for under that *Consideration*, it is as much beneath the Cognizance of the Laws, as the wild and Bedlam *Conceits* of Oliver's Porter. If men be possessed with a strong Belief, That the Moon is made of a green Cheese, or That a Wafer is a Man, it seems hardly consistent with the Dignity of Laws to take notice of it, but to leave them to other Remedies. No, it is not Popery the Fanatical and pretended Religion, but it is Popery the real *Usurpation*, the *Tyranny*, the *Treason*, and the utter Subversion both of this Church and State, against which the Face of our Laws are bent. And the Papists are therefore adjudged to be punished by Fine, or Imprisonment, or Death, not because they cannot say their Latine Prayers without Beads, but because they are False and Treacherous to their Native Country, and adhere to a *Foreign Enemy*, who is alwaies seeking to bring this Nation into that cruel *Bondage* and *Thraldom* under which it had long groaned, and therefore may justly be allowed to provide for its own Preservation, and to prevent such *Usurpation*, and *Invasion* for the future.

2. It appears, That the *Damnable* and *Treasonable* Practices of the Papists all along have been directed not only against the Lives of our Protestant Princes, but against the *happy Estate*, *Safety*, and *Being* of the Kingdom, to bring this Realm into the *Thraldom* and *Subjection* of a *Foreign, Unlawful* and *Usurped Power*, and to be overthrow of this whole *State* and *Commonwealth*: And therefore they are justly adjudged *High Traitors* to the Queen and the Realm. And the Realm, in point of its own Preservation is deeply concerned to see to the Punishment of these Traitors, which accordingly the Commons have often done, in quickning the Execution of Priests and Jesuits.

3. The People of England have an *Interest* and *Birth-Right* in these Laws, and are not only engaged to prosecute the Papists for the publick *Safety*, but likewise the Law has propounded considerable *Rewards* for those that Prosecute them, and so has made it their *private and personal Interest*. And not only so, but has engaged them to see them prosecuted at their own *Peril*. For as it is *Treason* to persuade any from the Religion Established to the Romish Religion; or for any person to be *withdrawn* and *Reconciled* to the Romish Religion; so it is *Misprision of Treason* to *Conceal* any of those *Offences*, which I would desire all Englishmen to think of; for the Law will and must take place, when Force will not.

4. From these Statutes it likewise appears, That it is no new thing for the Papists to make use of *demure pretences*, to term themselves *Catholicks*, and to hide their most detestable and Devilish purposes under a false pretext of Religion and Conscience, though it be such a Religion, that as the Statute tells

us, they draw from thence the infection of their bloody Treasons to the subversion of this whole State. Nor is it any new thing for them to Slander these Necessary and Religious Laws which were made for the preservation of the Church and State, and to term them Cruel Laws, since for that cause, as they themselves confessed, they attempted to blow up the Parliament House, and with the Persons to destroy the very place where Laws are made. But if they were Religious and Necessary Laws before the Powder Plot, as the Act for a Thanksgiving, yearly read in Churches, says they were, they are much more Necessary now, since the Papists daily Improvement in the Treasons and Cruelties of that Plot and of the Bloody Irish Massacre, and in several others, needless here to be named.

And therefore let every Protestant and true English man, put his helping hand to the Just and Necessary Prosecution of Papists, as he tenders the Preservation of God's true Religion, the welfare of the Nation, and the very Being of Posterity; especially let those, who have any Office in the Administration of Justice, be Zealous in the discharge of their Duty in that behalf; well knowing, that otherwise both their Oaths, and these repeated and Multiplied Laws, will rise up in Judgment against them, and the Blood of this Great Perishing People will lye at their Doors. And let them the rather take Courage to themselves, both because God has heretofore Delivered this Nation in the Gunpowder Plot, when they were within a few hours of Destruction; and because of the daring and Threatning Insolence of the Papists, which out-faces and tramples upon those very Laws that have put Halts about their Necks, and which as the Law, 5. Eliz. says, at this time is grown to marvellous Outrage and Licentious Boldness, and now requires more sharp Restraint and Correction of Laws: By this means the Laws will not hereafter pass for NULLITIES, as Observator, Num. 122. 123. Nay, Because the Papists are Subjects (and what Vipers of Subjects they are you see by these Statutes) therefore they must be let into the Government, and be employed in Publick Offices. Which is a far better Reason for making Bishops, Judges, Mayors, Sheriffs, Generals and Admirals, of all the Felons in Newgate, for they also are Subjects, and Sons of the Political Faiber, and ly under no such Moral or Legal Incapacities as the Papists do; who besides their Idolatry, and Bloody Enmity to this Protestant Kingdom, lye under an incurable incapacity of bearing Offices, both Civil and Military, and the Law has made their Commissions Punishable Nullities, 3. Jacob. c. 5. Sect. 8. By this means likewise the Observators overruling Necessity will be kept out, who superseeds all Laws, who, though he be an Armed man, yet is a known Out-Law, and therefore after all, if he will come, let him come at his Peril, but

THE

The CHARACTER of POPERY.

POPERY is a *Catholick* Sham; for it cheats those that tamper with it, of their Understandings, and their Senses, their Consciences, and their Souls: An Ecclesiastical Juggle; the cunning Knaves Mask, and the silly Bigot's Creed: *Jacob's* Ladder revers'd, or the Debauchee's Ensign; which he doubts not, but, if well oyl'd, will at last carry him to Heaven: For 'tis a Project, that offers at saving Men, and their Sins together; nay, in many Cases, to make their Sins meritorious of Salvation: A Blendure of *Ambition* and *Covetousness*, dress'd up in a long Mantle of *Hypocrisie*, call'd, *Saint Peter's Cloak*: A false Bait, managed by a crafty sort of Fisher-men, that pretend to angle Souls for Heaven; but design onely to catch Gudgeons, and grasp Earth, and its Advantages: Jangling the Keys of *Paradise*, on purpose to amuse the Croud, and to get Opportunities to pick their Pockets. 'Tis a strange Farrago of Errors and Impostures: A *Gallimaufrey*, compos'd of Contradictory Ingredients: The highest Superstitions, and yet the rankest Prophaneness: Subtilties of the finest spinning, and most gross Absurdities. It makes its God, and then eats him. It teaches all its Votaries to pray, without either understanding the Words, or yet devout attention of Mind: To Fast with a Luxurious Dinner of Fish, Wine, and Sweet-Meats, that *Heliogabalus*, and other choicest Heathen Gluttons would lick their Lips at. It cries up *Marriage* for a Sacrament; and yet at the same time, barrs its Sacred Clergy from it, because it will defile them. It boasts it self to be the sole Keeper and Interpreter of the *Scriptures*; and yet avows, that they are corrupted, and unintelligible: And so at once, proclaims her own perfidious Negligence, in not preserving the *Sacred Oracles*; and her monstrous Uncharitableness, in not giving Us an Authentick Explication. It pretends and Infallible Knack of deciding all Controversies; yet cruelly suffers her Brats to spend their Times in endless Quarrels; witness the Bralls between her *Franciscans* and her *Dominicans*, her *Jesuits* and her *Jansenists*, her most *Christian*, and most *Catholick* Doctors.

We may therefore call it a *Rope of Sand*, held together merely by Interest and Force: A *Babel-Building*, erected by diligent Fraud, and aspiring Pride, upon the Plains of drowlie Ignorance, and easie Credulity; and cemented not only with the Tears, but the Blood of thousands of *Innocents*. A devouring Monster, begot in the Dark by an incestuous Mixture of *Impiety* the Son, with Ignorance the Mother; Suckled by *Phocas*, with the Milk of Rebellion, and Blood-Royal; and Rocked to Sleep by *Pope Boniface*, in the Cradle of an *Universal Bishoprick*; where doting Monks sung Lullabies

bies to it, with a multitude of lying *Legends*, and feigned *Miracles*. The *French Usurper*, King *Pepin*, and his Son, gave it a new Coat; and *Pope Hildebrand* taught it to go High-Lone, and trample on the *Necks* of *Emperours* and *Kings*. 'Twas alwaies very fond of Babies to play with; and cried and scratcht most filthily, till it had got Pictures and Images set up in *Churches*; which from Lay-Men's Books, quickly became their *Gods*. The School-Men provided it Rattles of Distinction, and abundance of Elder *Pot-Guns*, to divert it self, and amuse the World with. The Conventicle of *Trent* found it sick of the *Rickets*; but applying altogether the *Italian Physick*, set it again upon its Legs, though with an Head swell'd bigger than before: Yet ever since, it hath been languishing in a *Consumption*; to palliate which, Fifty Thousand Fathers of the Society, are alwaies busie with *Cordials* and *Paint*, to keep up its Spirits and Complexion. The Dyer it delights in, is *Aurum Potabile*, and the *Blood of Mary*: The *Inquisition* is its Right-Leg, and *Sophistry* its Left, and with these two Supporters it bestrides the World.

To expresse its Essence, and full Latitude in one word, you must call it *Anti-Christianism*, (whether you take [*Anti*] to signifie *against*, *for*, or *instead of*, as the *Greek Tongue* hath it; or whether you take [*Christ*] to denote peculiarly our Blessed *Saviour*; or more generally, his *Vice-gerents*, or more largely, his *Saints* or *Catholick Church*; who all enjoy the Union of the *Holy One* :) For as this *Mock-Religion* most impudently pretends its *Pope*, (the greatest Rebel and Enemy to *God* and *Christ* under Heaven) to be *Vice-God*, or *Christ's Vicar* or *Lieutenant* upon Earth: and that he has a Plenitude of Power in *Christ's* stead, to Rule the Universal Church: Under which forged Commission, and kind Semblance, nothing can tend more against the Person, Honour, Merits, Offices, and whole Gospel of *Christ*, nothing be more derogatory to the just Rights, and Veneration due to Sovereign Earthly Princes; nor yet can any thing be more pernicious to, or destructive of Sincere Christians, than this Tripple Crown'd *Traitor's* Doctrines and Practices.

For *Popery*, by its Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, will have the Body of *Christ* to be without the Proprieties of a true Body; and consequently, taking away the Humane Nature, it denies the Person of our Mediator.

It Invades his Royal Office, by assuming his Incommunicable Titles, by undertaking to Rescind, and make void his *Laws*; absolving Man from his Duty to God, by Dispensations, and from the Penalty which Sin hath made his due, by Indulgence; so *Bellarmino* tells us, That the Pope hath a power to make Sin to be no Sin. And the Council of *Lateran*, That the Pope has all Power over all Powers, as well of Heaven as of Earth.

Con. Lat.
Sess. 2.
supra omnes
potestates
tam Cæli
quam Ter-
re.

It Blasphemes the *Priestly Office of Christ*, whereby at one Oblation of himself, he satisfied for all Sin. *Heb. 10. 11. 1 Jo. 1. 7.* For as if the same was insufficient, *Popery* appoints an innumerable Company of swerving Priests, whose daily Business is pretended to offer up *Christ* afresh, for a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, in their wicked and Idolatrous Mass. It also undertakes to purge away Sins, by other Medicines, besides his Pretious Blood. And sets up a Multitude of other *Mediators* and *Intercessors*. It opposes *Christ's* Prophetick Office, by adding a multitude of Traditions and Inventions, as necessary to Salvation, to be received with the same Reverence as the *Word of God*.

It exalts it self above all that is called God in the World: For it's *Pope* Crowns and Uncrowns Emperours with his Feet, and Treads upon them as one would do upon a *Viper*; takes upon him to Depose *Kings* and *Princes*, to give away their *Kingdoms*, to discharge Subjects of their Allegiance and Oaths: and to justify their Rebellion against, or Assassinations of their *Sovereigns*.

To speak Truth, *Popery* is the Debauchment of all *Religion*; For by Substituting it self under the Christian Name, it hath Subverted the innate Sence and Worship of the Deity, and maintains Tenets, and imposes Practices, which the wiser sort of Heathens alwaies blush'd at; and at the same time, it hath suppressed, and depraved, and counterfeited Divine Revelations; so that, the Principles both of Natural and Revealed Religion being thus Corrupted. It makes its Profelytes but so much the more the Children of Wrath, than they were by Nature; for she hood-winks their Understandings, degenerates and sears their Consciences, and lays waste all Morality.

Her design is not the promoting of *Christ's* Interest, (for that is apparently prostituted) but the Securing and Agrandizing of a Faction, which under the Profession of Christianity, might be false to all its Realities. Her Rule is the Corrupt Inclination of depraved Nature, to which they have throughly Conformed their Practicall Divinity; which caseth Men of Duty, for which they have an Aversion, and clears the way to those Sins to which they are disposed, as tho' there were no need to avoid them. Thus their Principles are more pernicious, because more taking, because Men will quickly like that Religion, because he loves his Sin; and will, 'tis to be feared, follow both, tho' he Perish for it Eternally.

She hath by various Methods, destroy'd (as much as in her lyes) the Credibility of the Christian Religion: As,

First, By makeing Men to neglect and sleight those Sacred Oracles, which contains firm Demonstrations of its verity; and to rely upon the vain Sandy pretence of her Infallibility, for the certainty of Faith.

Secondly,

Secondly, By obtruding upon the World her *Fabulous Legends*, and *Lying Miracles*, in which she is so notorious a Falsary, which to every Rational Man appear to have been only Delusions, and Rank Impostures.

Sr. Austin.
Signum a-
mendatum
aut porten-
da fallaci-
am Spi-
rituum.

Thirdly, By rendring the Gospel it self unworthy of Acceptation; as she hath model'd, and depriv'd it, through her absurd, superadded Principles, Idolatrous Worship, Gross Superstitious Rites, and innumerable Ceremonies, no less various in themselves, than burthensome to the Observers.

Fourthly, By reducing our Duty (upon the whole Matter) to certain, unreasonable, Servile Submissions, to her Haughty, Avaritious Clergy: And by resolving the Terms of Eternal Happiness, finally, into the Benediction, or good Pleasure of her vile sulsome Priests.

So that take her System together, and I see not how either Jew, Pagan, Turk, or other Infidel, can Honestly entertain the Christian Religion, as she Teacheth it; or if they should so embrace it, how far they would be gainers by the Bargain.

In the *Homilies of the Church of England for Whitsunday*, you have this Character given of her; *That the Church of Rome is an Idolatrous Church, not only an Harlot, as the Scripture calls her, but also a Foul, Filthy, Old, Withered Harlot, and the Mother of Whoredome, Guilty of the same Idolatry, and worse than was amongst the Gentiles.*

Popery in its self, is the vilest Tyranny, that ever Heaven in Judgment suffered, or Earth in Patience groan'd under: That of *Dionysius* and *Nexo* were but Flea-bitings to it; They only challenged a Despotical Power over Peoples Persons, This assumes an uncontrollable Dominion over their very Consciences and Souls: And is framed intirely for the Befooling, Enslaving, Despoiling, and Corrupting of the Laity, and the Enriching and Agrandizing her Priesthood; who with the Supple Hams of a Flattering Hypocrisie, first seem to Adore and Deise: But as soon as they have gained their point, do really Spurn at, and Trample upon all Secular Dignity and Authority; for She assumes an Arbitrary Power to pluck up, and Destroy all Governments, when it is for her purpose.

But still, a fine Conveniency or Umbrage of Religion she is, to those who will live by the Rules of none; and an admirable colour for Ambitious Princes to enlarge their Empire, to the prejudice of their Neighbours, and pretence of advancing the Catholick Faith; and to destroy their own People for God's Sake, whenever they shall have Oppressed them so far as to fear them; And as ready an Engine to excite Subjects to Re-

bellion

bellion against their Lawful Sovereigns, as oft as they will not Dance to the Measures of the Vatican.

To Conclude: As every Religion consists of Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline; so the Doctrine of Popery is Ignorance and Error: Its Worship, Idolatry and Superstition; its Discipline, Rage and Cruelty. Whence fitly doth the Holy Spirit, in Sacred Writ, describe her by those three Titles, *The False Prophet, the Whore, and the Beast: False Prophet*, for her Teaching, and enforcing Errors; *Whore*, for her Idolatry, Gaudy-Dress, and Meretricious Paintings; and *Beast*, for her Ravenous and Savage Cruelty.

To Conclude further: She is the Disgrace and grand Impediment of the Gospel, the overthrow of Morals, the perpetual Disquieter of Civil States, the Destroyer of Christians, the Scandal of Infidels, and the Pest of the World. Which therefore, all Mankind are obliged, both in Honour, Conscience, and Interest, by all Lawful ways to oppose; and With, and heartily Pray, for its Extirpation from the Face of the Earth; which for the Comfort of all that suffer by, and under it, and to the Terror of all its Abettors, (notwithstanding their Subtilties, or Violence, to support what Providence has doomed for Destruction) shall assuredly, in God's due time, be accomplished, and the *Kings* of the *Earth* shall Burn her with Fire. *Amen*

A LETTER to the Author of the *DUTCH* Design Anatomized. Written by a Citizen of *LONDON* for the Promoting of his *MAJESTIES* Service.

*Quis Calum. Terris non misceat & Mare Caelo
Si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
Clodius Accuset Machos, Catilina Cethegum.* Juvenal. Sat. 2.

S I R,

I Have read your *Anatomy of the Dutch Design*, with as much patience as a true Member of the Church of England could be supposed to have on such an Occasion, and I cannot forbear telling you I am a little Dissatisfied with it, and in part the Reasons why. First, I would gladly have.

have known the Name of this true Member of our Church, and of his Person of Quality too, for whose satisfaction this piece of *Anatomy* was composed. 2^{ly}. Why it comes out with *Allowance* rather than with a *License*, which is our legal word. And 3^{ly}. Why *Randal Taylor*, and not *H. H.* is the Publisher? These are small Queries, but you know we Church of England-men have been so long haunted with Ghosts, and Hobgoblins, and Wolves in Sheeps cloathing, that we are apt to Anatomize all Papers that come forth with *Allowance*; and if the inside do not answer the outside, we cry a *Jesuit in Masquerade*; and then all the World is on the Gaze to observe what the *Boutefeu* would be at.

Well, Sir, I have rubb'd my Eyes this Morning, and I am ready to hear what it is you have to say, *To Enquire into the original Causes of the Discontent of the Church of England at some late Proceedings, or to search into the Grounds, why his Majesty's desires to Establish Liberty of Conscience, was so stiffly opposed, were to re-kindle Intestine Contentts, which ever were, and much more now are to be Avoided?* Why, Sir, is it even so? Must all that has been done by the Red-Letter-Men since the Defeat of the Western Rebellion, be so cleverly conveyed away Now as never more to be thought of? Some few late Proceedings and Liberty of Conscience are soft Words, and surely these Church of England-men are not so hard hearted, as to remember Now such small matters as these, how stiffly soever they opposed them. In truth, Sir, you are a pleasant Gentleman, and ought to be recommended to his Holiness for his Confectioner. An Irish Massacre, or a German Design to subvert the Laws of a Nation, or a French gentle re-establishment of Catholick Religion thus softly and sweetly worded, would go glibly down with a good-Natured Heretick.

The Jealousies, the Ferment, and the Commotions in the next Section are shewn in such an huddle of Confusion as I know not what you mean, only I perceive it is so express'd, because you were upon the Wing for Holland, and had no leisure to talk of what had been done in England; but Discontents there were, and the Plaguy Dutchmen were told of them by a Party of English and Scotch Malecontents. Why had it not been for them, the Reverend Fathers of England might have done what they had pleased, and the Hollanders have so little sense of Religion, that they would never have regarded us, or at least not have put themselves to the charge of a dozen Flyboats or Herring-Busses, to propagate it, especially the Church of England as by Law Established, pag. 8. But these Malecontents told them that Protestantism was to be Ruin'd here under the pretence of Liberty of

Conscience; and besides, they had a mighty pair of Bellows, and the Rogues kept such a tooting and blowing, that at last they kindled a Fire in that Wet Country, and a Flame of Zeal burst out, for you must know the *Hollanders* have some *Compassion*, and a little Zeal, though they have not one dram of Religion. Why, who can help this?

Well, what did the Reverend-Fathers in the mean time in *England*? Why, they made use of *Re-enforcements*, when they perceived neither *His Majesty's Word*, nor the *Weight* of their *Reasons* could prevail. Now, Sir, What do you mean by *Re-enforcements*? Why, They turn'd all that would not Comply, out of all Employments, sent Souldiers to Quarter in all places that would not Address; Reformed the Corporations once and again; and sent Seven of the Bishops to the Tower, and they would have sent all the Fellows of *Magdalen Colledg* to the Devil too, but when they would not go, they sent them a begging as much as in them lay; and were going to Administer the self same Physick to all the Inferiour Clergy of *England*. I pray, Sir, were not these your *Re-enforcements*? Are not these Excellent Remedies against the Fumes of Discontent?

Well, all this was in order to gain it in a Parliamentary way, but then the Male-Contents in *Holland* plyed their Correspondents here with subtle well penn'd Treatises, and made such an Allarm, that neither Churchmen nor Dissenters would close with them. Alas, alas! We had taken such care of the *English Presses*, that never a Male-content in *England* durst whisper; and we had purchased Honest *Henry Care*, and many——, another Doughty Scribler, to plague the Nation with fulsome Declarations against the *Penal Laws* and the *Tests*; we had also hired some Preachers to instruct the Brethren in their Sermons; and *William Pen* wrote, and Preached, and travell'd, spent himself, his Money and his time in this Weighty Affair: We had sent Commissioners to inspect the Levies made by Justices of the Peace, and others to reform the Corporations, and some Horse-Loads of Pamphlets we had distributed into several Counties of *England*, and Suborn'd Men to address in Behalf of themselves and others; and after all, two or three paultery Male-contents in *Holland*, put out now and then a single Sheet of Paper which was well Penn'd, and spoil'd all again. In truth Reverend Father this is a sad Story.

You must know the *Hollanders* are a sort of Pagans who Worship nothing but *TRADE*, and the Rogues took up a conceit that the *Jesuits* were going to set up such a *Liberty of Conscience* in *England*,

England; as they had lately Erected in France; and this would prove very prejudicial to them in their Traffick, and draw away their people. Now as soon as the Butter-Boxes perceived the Wind was in that Door, they smelt out our Designs; and immediately were for obstructing all good Correspondence between the Fathers of the Society and the people of England, and fearing the Church of England Party were in the Plot with the Jesuits, their Politicians, to Out-wit us, procured some Extremities of Tryal and Disrepute to be inflicted upon the Church of England-men. But who were the Instruments imployed, the Lord knows. And besides, they buzzed the Dissenters in the Ear that the Jesuits had no real kindness for them; and that the severities heretofore used by the Church of England Party against the Dissenters, were very great, and that there was a Lady in Holland who might one day be Queen of England, and then it would be a fitter Season to set up Liberty of Conscience. Thus all our Proffers were slighted, and it was believed the holy Fathers were meer Cheats: And the *Hollanders* in all probability will keep their Trade and their People too, which poor England so much wants.

Just about this time you must know the Prince of Wales was born, and thereupon the Prince of Orange and the States being very Jealous that a Parliament would settle Liberty of Conscience meerly to prevent that Project, they raised a Report the Prince was a Counterfeit, and not content with this, they took speedy Resolves for the Security of their several Interests, and immediately laid the design of this Invasion from that very period. In truth, Reverend Father, the *Hollanders* are a parcel of Lewd People, but seeing your Interest is very great in France, Spain and Italy, I would advise you to get a Liberty of Conscience Setled in those Countries by way of Reprisals; and I dare Warrant you that you will Severely revenge their Perfidy, and have many Thanks into the bargain; and go very near to Ruine Holland, which is a little, wet, dirty, cold Country, and not worthy your Reverences regard.

You must know this Design was carried so closely that our Society not having the custody of their Conscience, we heard nothing of it till the French King's Ambassador found out the Project, and thereupon we fell to Work, and getting a fat Dutchman into the Savoy, we Dissected him, in one of the Ventricles of his Heart we found Trade, and in the other Liberty of Conscience; and thereupon we ordered our Secretary, who is a true Member of the Church of England, to publish it in his *Anatomy*, where you may find it, page the 7th. We discovered at the same time that the P. of O. was Ambitious; That he had Assum'd the Glorious Title of Protector.

restor of the Protestant Religion, and Defender of the English Liberties. And lastly (which is a Secret) That he designed to set England and France at a Variance, and by an Invasion by force or stratagem, to get some of our Ports. Now, Reverend Father, I return you my thanks for these important Discoveries. But for what follows about Invading and Conquest, and what dangerous things they are, your Reverence might have spared your Pious Labour, for I have read of them elsewhere before. Only I am glad there is no danger of having any of my Neighbours hanged for Reading the Prince's Declaration, because it seems he has not vouchsafed to give any previous insinuation of the Grounds of the War, as the Laws of Honour oblige, pag. 10. So that the Fathers are forced to dissect his Designs, to find out the Reason, and to hang out the Bloody Towels and Napkins they wiped their Knives and Fingers on, to stir up the Courage of the English Sythes and Plow-shares to oppose him. Very Elegant!

Your Transcript out of *Cotton*, concerning the Sufferings of the English by the Norman Conquest; and out of *Camden* concerning the Saxons, I have no occasion for. But that about *Gustavus Adolphus*, is very Edifying, if your Reverence had been pleased to have Assigned the Cause as well as the Effect. Which was this, The Jesuits of *Dillinghen* in Germany, perswaded *Ferdinand* the Second, Emperour of Germany, that the Doctrine of the Protestants of Germany, was not that which in the Year 1530. was exhibited to *Charles* the Fifth: That therefore they were not to enjoy any Liberty of Conscience which was only granted to those who embraced that Confession which was then exhibited. The Emperour hereupon endeavoured to re-settle the Romish Religion *Vi & Armis*, but *Gustavus* came into Germany, as you say, and made foul work: And at the last the Emperour was forced to Acknowledge these Protestants had a Right to the same Priviledges had been granted to their Ancestors. So here, dear Sir, the Jesuits were neither for Liberty of Conscience, nor keeping Faith with Hereticks, though our English Fathers have more Grace, thanks to the Virgin *Mary* and St. *Loyola*.

Page the 17. you tell us they (the *Hollanders*) were never known to have any more than the outside and shew of a Religion, that whilst they make long Prayers that God would prosper them to destroy Idolatrous Worship (i. e. Popery) they commit the Highest Sacrilege, and design not only to devour Widdows Houses, but already have divided amongst themselves the Estates of all such as they know are the Eminentest in Loyalty to the King. In truth, Sir; I will neither
question

question your Sincerity, nor your Affections to the *English*, but I would be glad to know where you had your Intelligence, and who those Eminent Gentlemen for Loyalty are, whose Estates are so much more sacred than the Widdows Houses? This and the Division too, may be true, but where did your Reverence learn it?

Your Politick Considerations, from pag. 17. to pag. 20. I return you again just as I received them, because I have no Commission to enter into a Treaty with you about things, which perhaps shall never exist any where but in your luxuriant Fancy. But your Reverences Harangue to the Citizens of *London*, is so very pleasant, I cannot forbear transcribing a little of it: *These come not to bring us Rich Commodities, but Fire and Sword, and the Hands and Claws of Harpyes.* Now what are these same Harpyes that have Hands and Claws too? Reverend Sir, I think I have seen a Picture of a Jesuit with bloody Hands and Claws instead of Feet. Now if the *Hollanders* should bring us a Cargo of these Animals, we should e'en desire them to carry them back again, no *Monkey*, nor *Fire and Sword*, being half so mischievous. Consider, I pray you, Oh! *Grave and Rich Citizens*, what you shall barter with them, do they offer you Security of the Protestant Religion? This you enjoy already, and may so without their carnal and cruel Swords. True, Reverend Sir, to your great Grief we do enjoy it; and may still do so, though neither our Penal Laws nor our Tests are repeal'd, which by the Grace of God neither their Carnal Swords nor your Spiritual Shams shall deprive us of: What is it then you expect from them? is it not much better that you are defended by the Trained-Bands, a part of your Selves, than by *Sweeds and Germans* filling your Streets, and possessing your Houses and Stores? I pray, Sir, How old is your Reverence? If you are one of the School-Boys of the *Savoy*, you may in time prove a pretty tollerable Popish Orator at the rate things now are; but if you are above the discipline of a Ferula, I despair of you. We know very well the convenience of our Trained-Bands, and have not forgot they should have been taken away as useless soon after *Monmouth's* Rebellion; and that they were suppress'd when *Liberty of Conscience* was granted, and restored with the Charter the other day: As for the *Sweeds and Germans* possessing our Houses and Stores, it is an *Irish* Insinuation, and worthy of your Reverence. But, dear Sir, did we enjoy all our Priviledges when our Charter was in the King's hands, have your Reverence forgot the late Changes in *October* and *February* last, and the Reasons of that? Is it a part of our Priviledges to be turn'd out because we will not promise to repeal our

Laws,

Laws and Tests, which are our best Securities against the *Holy Society*.

A new set of Traders will fill the Exchange. Sir, I believe you are much more concern'd for the *Savoy* than the *Exchange*. Page 21. You say they have watch'd the *Critical Season* of our *Discontents*, which they have fomented to wound us on our *Blind-side*. I pray, Sir, who caus'd these *Discontents*? Why should the Church of *England* be more suspected now than in the beginning of his Majesties Reign? Why, you will say they are discontented, who has done this? they are not discontented without great cause; private persons may, Bodies of Men never do take pet at small things, never was Prince received with more Loyalty, or defended with more Bravery than this King was by the Church of *England-Men*; his Brother only Excepted as to the first, whose many years absence contributed to the Enhancing the value of his *Restitution*. Whence then comes this Cloud of *Discontents*? What, has your Reverences occasion'd it? Why then a little Justice done upon you, I will undertake, shall appease the Church of *England-men*. God and their King are the only Beings they worship, And I am confident they of all the World never will have a quarrel against the King, it is only a few small *Politico's*, such as your Reverence, *F. P. R. B.* &c. small Cattel for which a Crown ought not to be hazarded, and some others not to be Named by me, but by the Three Estates.

If any ill Treatments hath been given (to the *E. C. Men*) upon *Assaults* or *Suspicion* that some encouragement had been from *Holland*, that had occasion'd some *Obstinacy*, yet since now by several Acts of Grace, the King hath made a reparation upon the full discovery of the *Unjustness*, &c. pag. 22. If any ill Treatments? Are we still at *Iss* and *And* whether we have been ill Treated or no? But it was for our *Obstinacy*. Your humble Servant Sir, We might have been more pliant to your Reverences, and then we should have been better treated. But we were suspected to have borrowed this *Obstinacy* from *Holland*. Yes, we did not know the value of our Religion and our Laws till *Monsieur Engel* set the price, and *G. B.* sent over an *Apology*. Well, But we have had reparation. Why, Sir, who was hanged for this Attempt upon us, who was tried? Is the *Dispencing Power*, or the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, or the *Mock Tryal* declared *Illegal*; may not all be Acted over again to Morrow? Sir, we do not desire reparation from our King, but we think it reasonable nevertheless, that we should be well secured for the future.

When

When this is done Sir, you may assure his Majesty (if you can come so near him) that the English Loyalty, Valor and Bravery are not dead. But to fight our selves into eternal Slavery; to ruine all the hopes of Redress for ever at one blow, in one day, will need a better Orator than you to persuade us: We are no Strangers to either your Faith or Practices. We remember Queen *Marie's* Days, and the Maxims of another *Mary*, who was Regent of Scotland in her time: *That Promise was not to be kept with Heretics; and that if she could make no longer Excuse after the East was committed, she would take it upon her Conscience to kill and do all that fell.* Spotswood, *Page* 123. And accordingly she broke her Faith so often, that at last they eased her of that trouble, by refusing evermore to trust her. The same Maxim was used in the Low-Countryes, by *Philip the Second*: In France, in Germany, in Hungary, and indeed where not? So that we shall have good reason to expect something more than a bare Promise.

Sir, you are not to think that the Wheedle in your 23. *Page* will signify much: But whereas you tell us, *That there has been no Blot upon his (the Church of England Mans) Scutcheon, upon that account, since the Reformation:* That is, they were never disloyal to the Crown; I must refer you to the *NEW TEST* of the Church of *Englands* Loyalty, printed with *Allowance*; the whole design of which *Paper*, is to brand us with setting up *Jane Seymore* and *Queen Elizabeth*, whom he called a *Known Beastard*. I suppose the Church of *England* has good reason to demand Reparations for that Slander. If there be indeed no Blot in her Scutcheon since the Reformation. I assure you Sir, that infamous Libel will one day be reckoned for, if you do not prevent Justice, by an exemplary and voluntary Correction of the *Author*, the *Allower* and *Publisher* of it.

Page the 24th. You tell us it hath hitherto been reputed an unjust and scandalous Censure, that we should be no longer *Engels*, than whilst we had a Prince of our own Religion. But then this has been thrown in our Dish several times since his now Majesty came to the Crown, by *R. C.* with *Allowance*, notwithstanding all our Zeal and Fidelity to him; and has any Reparation been yet made for this Injury? Methinks before you teach our Clergy what they are to preach, you should have taken care of this. It has been reputed injurious, &c. By whom? Oh! by Church of *England* Mans, and not by *R. C.*s you may be sure. So that we must still be contented; the Devil Infamation against *Job*, should stand good against us, if we will not put our Selves, our Lives and our Fortunes intirely into their Power, and Hang or Burn as they think fit.

Page the 25th. He tells us *Liberty of Conscience and the Church of England are already sold:* True Sir, and that is the very reason of all the Struggle; to get our *License* and *Test* repealed, because they secure both these things, though not alike to all Protestants. Now these Gentlemen pretended to give the Dissenters more Liberty to obtain their Assistance against the Church Party for the Repeat; but the Dissenters knew these Hucksters, and would not bite: Hence all the Rage against the whole Body of Protestants, especially against the Dissenters.

But Sir, they know very well you have given them what you can move or call, and they laugh at your Rage.

As to the Reports, Pag. 26. and your Answer, I have nothing to say to them: As for what you affirm, *that some of these things the King had resolved to have granted before the sitting of the intended Parliament, and before he had the least intelligence of the Dutch Preparations, as Testimonies that he designed the Protection of the Church of England:* And that this was known to some Persons of Honour and Credit; Pag. 27. This is the best thing in all your Book, and perhaps might have been believed, if these worthy Persons had been named. Pag. 28. We are told the King judgeth that Liberty of Conscience is the very Fundamental of that Happiness which he wisheth to his People; it is very oddly worded, but let that pass, his People may enjoy this Liberty without repealing either Laws or Test, as they now do. And it is probable many refused to joyn in the Repeal out of Conscience, since they parted with All to keep them? Why then should they not have the Liberty of their Consciences too? Nor to mention the Case of the Bishops and Inferior Clergy.

Pag. 29th. As to the forged Heads of the Princes Declaration, and the Bishops Proposals, as they are known to be the Contrivance of the Kings Enemies, framed on purpose to amuse the People, and make them believe the setting us at Rights, is the only Design of the Dutch, and till those Proposals be granted, We are not safe. Reverend Sir, your Passion here has made you lift your Gown so high, that I can plainly see your Talons, and know you are an *Harpy*. I know no more of the Princes Declaration, than his Majesty has been pleased to insert in his Declaration, of the 7th. Instant; But I have seen the Bishops Proposals, and none but an Enemy to the Protestant Religion can be so severe against them as you are. But dear Sir, the Suppressing the Jesuits Schools, in the 5th. Sending Inhibitions after the four Apostolick Vicars in the 6th. And to admit the Bishops to lay such Reasons before his Majesty, as might, by the Blessing of God, bring back his Majesty to the Communion of the Church of England, &c. In the 11th. together with the Ecclesiastical Commission in the 2d. and the Dispensing Power in the 9th. your two great Engines, by which you have already wrought such Wonders in England, and by which you hope to retrieve all those Advantages the Invasion have forced you to discharge. These, Reverend Sir, are the things which so violently moved your Choler, that you quite forgot you were to act the part of a true Member of the Church of England; and in your Passion against the Bishops, those dreadful Heretical Bishops, you discovered your *Claws* so very plainly, that I cannot but pity your Indiscretion, and Advise the Men of *Allowance* not to suffer you to appear any more upon the Stage, since you can act your part no better.

Pag. the 30th. You are pleased to confirm my Conjecture; What the King change his Religion, and part with an insupportable Prerogative of the Crown: And the rest of those impudent Proposals in that Paper? What good Catholick can induce this? No Gentleman, you are plainly for bringing the King to *Carisbrook Castle*: a good

good no King, as no Jesuit Schools; no Apostolick Vicars, no dispensing
 Power to take of the Tithes, no R. C. Zeal. Why, dear Sir, are these things so
 indispensably necessary, that all is to be ventured for them? Are these the things
 for which we must fight it out to the last Man. Truly Sir, General Monk was
 a great Man, and a good Subject, but I believe he would not have lost one
 ounce of Blood on this Score. And his Majesty came as freely to the Crown
 as his Brother, and none of these things were suspected then. But now great
 Sir, do not insist too violently on any of them, if you love the Church of England.
 It is good reason, all our New Grants, and all our Old Rights should be secure,
 before you can expect we should be so wonderful thankful as you are, who
 seem contented we should have any thing, if you may be in a Capacity, to pluck
 it away again when time serves.

10 Page. the 31. As to those who decline Acting in Commission with Roman Catholics, or mixing with them in the Militia; it is a Sullenness little becomes worthy Men: It is not a time to remember former Piques, and refuse joining all Hands for our Defence, when Hannibal is at the Gates: Dear Sir, your Foot, your Foot: I wonder you should thus forget your self, and the Person you are to act. In the time of Monmouth's Invasion, one of your Society put out a Remonstrance by way of Address, from the Church of England to both Houses of Parliament, in two parts; and in Conclusion of the last, thus he bespeaks them:

My Lords and Gentlemen :

It depends wholly upon your Generous Action, to see this great Thing (the bringing the R.C. to act freely with the Protestants, without taking the Tests) effected. We see his Majesty is not willing to infringe the Laws, or alter any thing without your Counsel; nor give occasion to the disaffected, to esteem him arbitrary: But you methinks, should prevent him in this, and before you break up the Assembly, freely desire him to employ any that are known to be his Friends.

The *Style, Genius and Temper* of those *Remonstrances*, are so very like this *Anatomy*, that I believe firmly, one Person wrote both. But that be, as it will, we may observe the *Dispensing Prerogative* was not then in being; and therefore a true Member of the Church of *England*, was forced to address to both Houses, to wheedle them into a Petition, for you know Sir, *Hanibal* was then at the Gates too. The Houses however did not think fit to take the Advice of this *Wizard*; but however his Majesty used his Discretion; and in the next Session of Parliament, those very Loyal Gentlemen were against the *Dispensing Powers*; yet they were willing to pardon all that had been so employed contrary to Law, but that would not suffice; so that Parliament was first prorogued, and then dissolved, and the *Dispensing Power* set on Foot. And now in time of War you must act with them, because *Hanibal* is at the Gates; and in the time of Peace you shall do so too, or turn out. Surely Sir, you conceive we have very ill Memories.

There is a very great difference betwixt times of Peace and War, in Administration of Affairs of Law and Justice. Some that would keep strictly to the Letter of the Law, in times of Peace may scruple to act with a R. C. &c. But in a time of Insurrection, this Scruple ought no way to concern any Man, &c. Pag. 31. Reverend Sir, you may be pleased to teach your Grandame to P— your Politicks are now too thin to deceive a Leather Jacket, or a pair of Canvas Breaches.

Pag. 32. You tell the Dissenters, the Powers they had got in the time of the Rebellion, under King Charles the First, necessitated the Government after the late Kings happy Restoration, to continue a standing Army for its Defence; and to enact Penal Laws against them. Why Sir? they have been told another Story of late; that they Church of England, out of a bloody, proud, persecuting and implacable Spirit, exorted these Penal Laws from Charles the Second, contrary to his Inclination. Now Sir, when your Affairs are in any disorder, you presently borrow a Church of England Cassock, and with much Gravity bespeak them in favour of the Government, and in excuse of the Church, because you need her Assistance; but so soon as ever you have got what you want, off goes the Disguise, and then the poor Church of England must answer both for the standing Army and the Penal Laws. The Dissenters do so perfectly understand you and your Arts now, that I have no Temptation to interpose between you and the New Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and Magistrates of Corporations, which the King in Kindness to them, has made out of them of late, and it may be, for a while by this time.

Whether the Dissenters are obliged on the Score of Gratitude, to assist the King on the account of the Toleration, or whether the present War has arisen purely upon the account of this Indulgence, as you say Pag. 34. is no part of my Business to inquire. The Dissenters are a grateful sort of Gentlemen, and if you had appeared in your own Shape and Cloaths, you might have said what you had pleased to them, and they might have done what they had pleased for all me.

The rest of your Exhortation I leave to the Consideration of all Men, as I find it, my Design not being to deprive his Majesty of the Assistance or Hearts of His People; God forbid I should, but to pluck off your Mask, and so show you to all the World what you are. Shall the Disciples of that *Habing Hypocrite Ignorant Lout*, the younger *Malcontent*, teach us Loyalty? Shall they print their School-boy Rhetorick in the Name of the Church of England, with the *ALLOWANCE* of the *Episcopal Viceroy*? You that have imbroiled so many Kingdoms, been the occasion of so many Rebellions, Massacres, Plots, Persecutions, Breaches of Faith, &c. Shall you pretend to be so Zealous for Liberty of Conscience, Trade, and the Peace of the World? You that have brought us and his Majesty into this Distress, by your little Arts and Shams: Shall you now, like *Common wansons*, wipe your Mouth, and say you have done no Evil? Well Sir, if it must be so, I am contented; and so farewell.

November the 9th. 1688.

TALGOL:

TALGOL.

O. R.

The Project for Repealing the Penal Laws and Tests, with the Honourable Means used to effect it. Being a Preface to a Treatise concerning the Penal Laws and Tests.

IT is now some years since the Noble Enterprize of removing the *Penal Laws* and *Tests*, has been carried on by incredible Vigor and Application; and yet to the great Grief of the *Catholick Undertakers*, the Success does not hitherto seem to answer the Measure of their Diligence or Expectation. All sorts of Merit, and all kinds of Arguments have been tried, and yet it is scarce to be perceived that the *Cause* is any thing advanced. The *Church* of England Men had the Honour of the first Solicitation, and the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of that *Communion*, in consideration of former Services, such as the *Western Alliance*, &c. had the offer of ingrossing to themselves the *sile Merit* and *Glorie* of bearing their *Religious* and *Country*; the *Court* Arguments of *Honour* and *Profit*, heretofore accounted *irresistible*, were not wanting on this occasion. But this had no other effect than the *immortal* Vacancies of *Civil* and *Military* Employments that fell upon those *stiff* *Gentlemen* as a Judgment for their *Refusal*. And some, whose whole Subsistence depended upon the *Court*, chofe rather to be deprived of all, and to be reduced from some of the chief *Places* of the *Kingdom*, to the utmost *hardships* of *Life*, than to join in this *marble* *Enterprize* against the *Laws*. The *Clergy*, who may seem to be in a state of *Reprobation*, were *shut* *down*, as long as the *Court* had any hopes of them; and offer'd this great *grace* of raising their own *Church*, and to recover them to this *pious* *Work*, *Preferments* were promised, and because none of any *Reputation* could be gain'd, the *Black Guard* of the *Church* is call'd up *Swartz*, and admitted to the *Clergy*, and *Dung-Hills* are raked for *Virgins* to *stink* Men out of the *Church*. *Saul* was in great distress, when for want of a *Prophet*, he put his *Questions* to the *Don*; for my part, I cannot but look upon it as direct *Necromancy*, to consult *Bishop Talgol*, since by the *smell* of the *Carion*, it must be concluded to be more than *four* days dead; and it is not doubted by Men, curious in *secret Sciences*, but that the *Don* has some where or other robb'd a *Gibber* to furnish this *Appearance* of a *Prophet*.

When the *Nobility* and *Clergy* declined this *Reverend* *Adventure* against the *Laws*, a *Pref* goes forth upon the *Commonalty*; in *Corporations* this was the *Word*, *Stand up* the *Penal Laws* or your *Charter*, and *Mr. Alderman* he *aside* the *Test* or your *Free Charter*. Nay, this Diligence defended so *low*, and grew so minute, that a *blind* *Old-House* could not escape the *Questions*: *Why should any one enjoy a Royal Licence to draw Ale, that would not stand by the Prerogative and Dispensing Power?* Yet after all, the success of this admirable Negotiation was so unsatisfactory, that *B. H.* wrote to his *Landlord* at *Manchester*, *That the Bishopric of his*

Brother

Brethren of the Blue Apron that brought upon them the Proclamation of *Just Debauchery*. Nay, so great was the *Confusion*, as not to pass by the very *Gaols*: Where that none might despair, the greatest *Criminals* are first taken into employment, and made *Regulators of Corporations*: and surely no wise Man can blame this *Conduct*: for it must be confessed, that there can be no *Instruments* more proper to take away *Penal Laws*, than those, whose rich kind of *Laws* had put in dread of their *Lives*, and on this passing by a *Prison Gate*, and hearing the *Prisoners* cry for *Alms*, is said to have turn'd and given this *Word of Comfort*, That if they would give their *Names* against the *Penal Laws* and the *Bishops*, they should be all made *Free-men of London*: And why should we doubt it, since a *Blind Beggar* is already made *Free of Cambridge*.

In the last place, the *Protestant Dissenters* are invited to take their *full Revenge* of the *Church of England*, and of those *Penal Laws* by which they had suffered so much, and to induce them to this, the *old Scores* are robb'd hard, and their *Sins* further aggravated to the highest point. Yet to let them see that they are but mock'd by this counterfeit *Compassion*, the very Men who are now the most forward in reading their former *Hardships* so invidious, were the chief *Authors* of their *Prosecution*. And I am sure that some of the *Dissenters* may still remember by whose *instigation* it was, that their *Bishop* was sometimes raised higher than became *Persons* obnoxious to the *Laws*, who promis'd to abuse them; and when by this *abuse* they had been drawn to provoke they were abandoned, and the *Church-Men* enjoy'd to prosecute with the utmost *Rigor*: and the *Dissenters* some years ago seem'd to be so sensible of this *Juggle*, that they had resolv'd to put the Dice upon the *Jugglers* themselves, and were within a point of having their revenge upon their *falsa Friends*, and in all probability they had effected it, if they had not been betrayed to the *Court* by their chief *Leaders* and *Confidants*, and diverted from the pursuit of *Papery*, by being set upon the *Church of England*: if they will call to mind in what manner *Hales* and *Burke*, and others, went in and out among them in those days of *darkness* and *disguise*, they will easily understand what I say. But to return from this digression: The *Dissenters* are now *allured* to take off the *Laws*; and the better to enable them, they are put into *Employments* in *Corporations*, and made *Justices of the Peace*, and are intrusted with just so much *Power* as may enable them to betray their *Country* and the *Protestant Religion*; but the *Papists* who are mix'd with them, and from whom they must take their *directions*, will take care they shall do no service, but for *Papery*: Nay, for all this fair *Countenance* that is now towards the *Dissenters*, some of their *Friends* of the red *Letter*, when their hearts were open with *Wine of Unity*, have not stuck to declare, that this *Power* to the *Dissenters* was but a temporary *Act*, and a thing only of present *Oceconomy*. And the Son of a certain *Mayor* of the new *regulation*, blab'd out unwarily this dangerous *Secret*; That the new *Members* of that *Corporation* were not so do by long continuance, but to be kick'd out as soon as they had forc'd the *protestant* Turn; that is, as soon as they had chose *Parliament Men* to represent the

Penal Laws and the *Test*. Now whether such *inimities* as these, or a more commendable *Principle*, hath induced many of the *Dissenters* to refuse to give up the *Established Religion*, and the *Laws* that secure it against the *inundation* of *Papery*, and made the bulk of that *Party* doubtful and in suspense about that matter; so it is, that the *practices* upon that sort of *Men* have not met with all the success that *Pen and Quill* had promised the *Roman Catholics*.

Besides these *persecutions* to particular Persons, or to the several *Persecutions* among us, *Little Whits* of *Wells* here, undertook to convince the *World* of the necessity and reasonableness of taking away the *Penal Laws* and *Tests*. And tho these *Undertakers* wanted neither ability nor integrity answerable to the goodness of the *Cause*, yet after all their pains, the generality of *Men* remain unsatisfied. *Tillotson* the *Great*, is said to have exercised his *Style* upon this occasion, and no *Man* surely can be so unreasonable as to suspect his *benevolence* in this matter, he is too much concerned in the *Penal Laws*, to prevaricate in drawing up a *Charge* against them: For is it not these *Penal Laws* that restrain *Men* and *Women* from loving one another as much as *Nature* has allowed? A *Father* cannot love his own dear *Child*, as well as his *Wife* or his *Concubine* for these *perverse* and *ungodly Laws*, a *Man* can scarce speak a free word of *Religion* in his drink, but he must fall *strait* under the *Laws*. Since therefore they are so grievous to flesh and blood, why should any suspect this *Author* as not hearty in this *affair*? besides, since the *Modesty* of that *great Man* submits all his *Labors* to the inspection of *Father Pierre*, he cannot in any reason lie any longer under suspicion of *unfaithfulness*, and had he us'd this method from the beginning, the *Officers* of the *Church* of *Rome*, of which he once unwarily spoke, had never appeared in his *Writings*, nor had he ever been guilty of so scandalous an *inimication* as this, That the *Roman Church* was a *Strumpet*, and fallen under the evil *Disease* incident to *Prostitution*. But I hope *later Services* have taken off that blot, and give me encouragement to make an humble request in his behalf; that in consideration of his *services*, those who have power at *Court* would procure him, not the *Arch-Bishoprick* of *York*, for that might embroil him with *Father Pierre*; but a *gracious* *Repeal* of the late *Proclamation* against *Debauchery* and *immoderate Drinking*.

In the next place *Friend Pen*, who has had long commerce with *Rome*, and shares as much as any *Subject* in the merits of the *Holy Society* of *Jesus*, was stir'd up by his new *Spirits*, to persuade the *Nation* to part with the *Penal Laws* and *Tests*: It cannot be doubted that he is as much in earnest in this *Cause* as *Father Pierre* himself, and for ability is generally thought to be much before him; yet after all his faithful Endeavour, men are much dissatisfied, because they cannot reconcile this new *Spirit* with the old. For when the *Papists* *Ph* was in credit, *Friend William* was possessed with such a jealousy of *Papery*, that he published according to the *Lights* then dwelling in him. That *Papists* had forfeited all right of being believed, that they were incapable of *Toleration*, because they could give no *Security* of their good Behaviour, and although they should offer a *Toleration* they were not to be trusted, because it was against

their principles to keep their Faith with Hereticks. Dear Friend *William*, how shall we reconcile these things with the new *Expedient*? How is it that *James* and *James* proceed from the same *Fountain*? And since these *Lights* lead different ways, let Gods sake tell us which we shall follow?

Many other *Writers of lesser Note*, shewed their good *Will* and *Learning* upon this great Subject, and gave the *Penal Laws* such hard Names, as *Draconica*, *Capital*, *Blood-sucking*, *Sanguinary*, *Barbarous*, *Inhuman*, &c. that a *Serjeant* of the last Call is said to be so far transported, as to tear all those out of his *Statute-Book*, when he had first of all desired a *Friend* to shew him which they were. But of all that have signalized themselves by their opposition to the *Penal Laws* and *Tests*, commend me to the *Reverend Judges*, who in these *Circuits* have done wonders, and astonished all the *Kingdom*. The *Atchievements* of these *Knights Errant*, deserve a particular Relation; and I hope they themselves will please so far to comply with the *public Curiosity*, as to permit their several *Charges* to be printed, and by this means make some amends for the disappointment of the *World*, which has waited so long in vain for the *Bishops Trials*: in the mean time who can pass by *Albion* the *Wise*, who in his *Charge* recommended to the *Country* the *Belief* of *Transubstantiation*, and what is almost as repugnant to common sense, he maintained that the *Bishops Petition* was a *Libel*: It was kindly done of a *Papish Judge* to take the pains to recommend *Protestant Bishops* to the *Esteem* of the *Country*, by expressing his *Indignation* against them in so high a measure; surely every *Protestant* would be apt to believe that those *Bishops* had given some notable Check to the *Progress* of *Papery*, that should occasion this pretended *Judge* to be so much *incensed*. After the *Bishops*, he fell unmercifully upon the *Laws*, and said many things against them of as much weight as his *Commission*: but some of the *Gentlemen* present thought all this *Harangue* very impertinent; for they were of opinion, that his sitting upon that *Bench*, took away the *Laws* more effectually than all the *Reasons* he could alledge against them. What shall we do now the *Laws* and *Judges* are so desperately set out? When the *Laws* are against the *Judges*, what wonder is it if the *Judges* are against the *Laws*; *Thou* had of old the *Right* and the good *Fortune* of ending such *Controversies* by silencing the *Judges*, and I do not despair but this may expire together the *Revolvers* of our *Laws* under the same *fatal Tree*, which without imputation of *Superstition*, I may, I hope, thus accost in Verse:

Old Remond Trips, Guardian of the Law,

Sacred to Justice, Deaf to great men;

Do thou decide the Nations highest Cause,

And judge between the Judges and the Laws;

So shall our guilty Blood no Torrent fall,

And Innocence shall flourish all our State shall flourish.

Memorandum

Memorandum for those that go into the Country to dispose the Corporations to a good Election for Members of Parliament. To be read by them often.

1. **I**T is necessary you weigh well the difficulty of your Work, and Consider that you will meet with all manner of Deceit and Combination to frustrate your Endeavours, the *Clergy* will engage the *Gentry*, and both Endeavour to render you unacceptable, and your Works fruitless, if not top upon you false Men under the Semblance of real Friends.
2. Consider the evil Effects that will attend a Miscarriage in this Matter. 'Tis not only a frustration of Good expected, but ruinous to your own Interest, and exposing you to Contempt, you must expect that no weakness or inadvertency of yours in this Work will pass unobserved, and the best of your actions misrepresented, and every failing magnified, and that haply to the King or some of his Ministers, which therefore calls for the highest Care and Circumspection.
3. You have as full an account of the Persons, and things for each Corporation, and place as hath hitherto been Collected, which consider from time to time in the respective places as you come at them, and for your Guidance in these places find one or two of the best, prudentest and acceptablist Person or Persons, and engage them to your Assistance, and know from them the temper and humour of the respective Persons with whom you are to converse, and accordingly endeavour to suit your discourse to their temper and humour.
4. Take from place to place Letters recommendatory for the strengthening your interest and acceptance, get fit and acceptable Persons to accompany you to such Gentlemen, as you will have occasion to discourse, for you must expect to meet with discerning Men and Men of great Parts, and for that purpose be wary in your expressions and conversation, and be not too ready and open in discourse till such Persons become by their own Declarations engaged.
5. 'Tis of very great import in this Service that very good Correspondents be settled in each Town, to whom Letters and Papers to be dispersed may be sent, and who shall receive every Post such Prints and Advices as shall be fit and proper for them, and in this you must consider, that the Persons so to be engaged, must be right Men, not only by Inclination, but also Men of Prudence and Interest (if possible.)
6. Where the Corporations do fix upon their Members, inform your selves fully what probability there is of their Election, and what methods will be taken in order thereunto, and when you have fully satisfied your selves, that such Persons are right and like to answer the Kings expectation (In which by your Instructions you are not restrained to the Persons Named in your List, in case there be Exceptions to any of them, or fitter Persons can be provided) If possibly you can get the

Electors to write Letters of Invitation to such their intended Members, that by Subscriptions under their hands, their Election may be ascertained, and which they shall consent to Election as his Majesty shall nominate or recommend, that they do in like manner express their desire that such Nomination, and Appointment be made in order to their Election, in which all prudent care is to be had, and the leading Persons of such Corporations to be consulted.

7. You are from time to time to give an account of all Occurrences that are material, and of all Suggestions, Books and Libels, that are dispersed in prejudice of his Majesties service.

8. You must be very careful to give a full and distinct account of all the Proceedings every Post, and therein an impartial account of the Sentiments of the Persons with whom you converse, their inclinations, and resolutions, what expedients are necessary to render the Election certain; which account you are to give from time to time R. B— Esq; at his Chamber in the Temple. The respective Correspondents are in like manner to send their Letters to him, and to follow such Directions as from time to time they shall receive from him, or Mr. E. R—to whom they may write, directing their Letters to Mr. B—s Chamber; but not to give an account of your proceedings to any other Persons whatever.

9. You are likewise to consider the Correspondents in each Corporation, whether they are fit and proper, and if not, that others more fit and proper be named, as also to enquire whether the Correspondents do disperse the Books and Papers according to the directions sent them; and particularly, whether they are exposed in Coffee-houses, and Houses of publick Entertainment for the Information of the Country, that in case they be defective therein, it may be rectified.

10. You are to send for the Persons in the respective Counties under-written, and to desire their help and assistance, in managing the Trust committed to you, and to engage them and their Correspondents, that are in the respective Corporations, to manage such matters and things, as upon debate you shall find requisite to promote this Service, for inclining and disposing Men to Elect Persons you shall agree upon and engage them in your absence to keep a constant correspondence with Mr. B—, or Mr. R—, that such Advice may be sent from time to time as may be proper.

11. You are also to consider what Employments such Correspondents are capable of, that are in the Kings dispose, to the end they may be recommended to such Employments as may compensate for the service they have done, or shall do.

12. You are likewise to inspect the present state of each Corporation, with respect to the Magistrates in being, whether there be any in that are not fit and proper, or whether any are omitted to be put into the Government, which if placed therein, may be useful and serviceable for promoting and securing good Elections, as also any other methods and expedients that have a tendency thereunto.

13. You are likewise to consider what Mayors and Sheriffs in being are active in his Majesties service, and to be depended upon, and which of them are fit to be removed before the Election either in order to their being chosen to serve in Parliament, or to promote the Election of others, and to engage the Sheriffs to attend in person at the Election; not only in the Counties, but in each respective Corporation and to take care of the Returns, and also to give an account of the inclination and behaviour of the respective Town Clerks, Clerks of the Peace, and Sub Sheriffs, whose places render them capable of his Majesties service, in case they be right, but otherwise dangerous and prejudicial thereto.

14. Inform your selves what Members each Corporation intend to choose, and if they are contrary to his Majesties interest, and you find the Corporation resolved upon them out of prejudice, consider then how to give a diversion to their intentions, by seeming to promote such Persons Election, which they otherwise may create an aversion to them, and dispose them to Elect others, which they are inclined to, as suspecting those they before designed, to have privately wrapt to the Kings interest, and thereby room will be made for the Electing such as are right.

Persons proposed as Affiliates to those that go into the Country for

Chester	Mr. M.	Salop	R. N.
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Instructions for those that shall go into Wales

1. You shall make the King's Declaration the chief subject of your Discourse with such persons as you shall think fit to speak with, Election only but when a man

2. You must make it your principal aim to settle the Minds of People especially of those that are designed for Members of Parliaments, of such who do, or are likely to come on to the Kings service in relation to the Penal Laws and Tests, against all endeavours which may be made by the Kings Adversaries, for diverting the effects of his good intentions and in being very probable that when the Parliament shall meet, this will be chiefly endeavoured by some indirect means, as by attempting to make some difference between the King and his two Houses of Parliament, or either of them, or by starting something, which may be a dispute between the two Houses, you are particularly to forwarn and caution all persons who are likely to be Members against this Artifice.

3. You are to assure those that are of the Church of England that his Majesty will maintain the same according to his word.

4. You are to engage all the People of what persuasion whatever to live friendly together as becomes fellow Subjects, disposing them to unite their endeavours to render effectual his Majesties gracious intentions, for their ease and advantage, and you are to tell them, that his Majesty will favour them most as shall be of that peaceable disposition, as to sacrifice all private animosities to the publick good.

5. You are to remove as much as may be all fears and jealousies out of Peoples minds, by telling them his Majesty only designs the universal happiness of all his People.

6. You are to make acquaintance with the leading active, and interested Men in the Country, or in the Towns and Corporations, who are inclinable to abrogate the *Penal Laws* for Religion, and the *Test*, and engage them to improve their Interest for effecting it.

7. You are to inform your self (as privately as may be) whether the Persons proposed to be chosen, by the list given you, be rightly principled and so disposed to pair with the Laws, as may be depended on.

8. You are to inform your self whether the regulations made in the respective Corporations have been of proper Persons for his Majesties Service.

9. You are to inform your self, who are the Electors in the respective Corporations and Boroughs, and by what manner Elections are made, who influences them, and who are fittest to be chosen in those places where none are yet proposed.

10. — of the behaviour of the Officers of the several Branches of his Majesties Revenue in relation to Elections, whether they promote his Majesties interest as they ought to do, and further what in them lies for the repeal of the *Penal Laws* and *Test*.

11. To acquaint your selves with the Preachers of the Dissenting Congregations, and encourage them to employ their interest for the abrogating those *Laws* and *Test*, and if you find any of them dissatisfied, inquire who they correspond with in London and give notice of him.

12. To inform your self of some fit Person in each Corporation with whom a Correspondence may be held for the knowledge of the true state of the same, and to whom Books and Papers may be sent, to despatch them for the Peoples better information.

13. You are from time to time to advise with the Catholick Gentlemen.

14. You are likewise to inform those you converse with, that *Liberty of Conscience* hath been the cause of the Hollanders great Trade, Riches and Power, &c.

15. You shall take care to make all persons understand that the late proceedings against the Bishops were necessary, to support his Majesties Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, which the King will always maintain, as likewise his Pre-rogative on which it is founded.

16. That their Disobedience and their Petition, were designed only to obstruct the meeting of the Parliament, and to prevent the Establishing of what they apprehend, &c. which is so far from discouraging his Majesty, that he is more resolved than ever to pursue this great work, not doubting to effect it, whatsoever opposition he may meet with.

Heracitus Ridens Redivivus:

OR, A

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

HARRY and ROGER,

Concerning the Times.

Qui semel cecundia fines transferunt, eos oportet gnauiter esse impudentes. Cicero.

Harry. **O** H Sir / I am glad to see you: what *Anno setain sue* 72, and yet so brave and lusty? having not of late seen any thing from you, I was afraid that the difficulty of finding out *Self-murderers*, had tempted you to make upon your self some fatal Experiment; like the *Philosopher*, when he could not solve the Motion of the *Sea*, threw himself into it.

Roger. I must confess, *Harry*, I have been of late (but much against my Inclinations) very useless; my Talent, and the present Current of Affairs are diametrically opposite: had the Church of *England* Men been our own, I could have run Divisions upon the Dissenters *ad Infinitum*; I would have proved them a Pack of Rebels for a whole Century; I would have made the last 88. to be of a piece with this, and the invincible Armada should have been believed to be no more than a Phanatick Conspiracy.

Har. Nay, the Dissenters are not at this time to be provoked.

Rog. That I am very sensible of, and therefore I have endeavoured all I could to bring my self to speak for them; but I find I do it so awkwardly, that you would as soon cure the Rickets in one of my Age, as bring any thing of mine shape that pleads for them: my Answer to the *Letter to a Dissenter*, I hope, was an ample Specimen of my good Will; but my Wit lay so much the other way,

that

that my Answer was looked upon to be the worst of the four and twenty; besides my printing of the Letter at large, made me in danger of being brought in as a Disperser of the Libel.

Har. I must tell you, Sir Roger, that Answer, with some other late Writings of yours, has a little atton'd for your old Sins; and tho' the Dissenters do not look upon you as their best Friend; yet it has in some measure allaid the Enmity between them and the Serpent.

Reg. Now you put me in mind, I think I have given the Dissenters in some of my last Observators, a very pleasing Farewell: If I be not mistaken, I spoke notable things for the Toleration; and were it not for the Reproach of *Self-contradiction*, I could have said twenty times as much.

Har. What need you fear *Self-contradiction* so much? Cannot you say, That upon a change of Circumstances, a man may likewise vary his Judgement as to Toleration, with a respect to his &c. &c. [R. L's Answer to the Letter to a Dissenter, p. 12.] and what was abominable in one Reign, may be Law and Gospel in another?

Reg. You speak Right, to alter one's Opinion, tho' at threescore and twelve, I think, is no very great Blemish. But I that have so often challenged the World to discover *two clashing Sentences* in all my Writings; that have carried my Matters always so even, that to discover one *Flam* in me, was as difficult as to find out Sir Edmund *Bury-Godfrey's* Murther: For me to speak home for Toleration, would make it a harder Task to find an Agreement between my Works, than it would be to reconcile the two Churches.

Har. What is't you have so unluckily said, that will make it so hainous in you to write for Toleration?

Reg. O! I have spoken against the Dissenters such hard Words, that now I could willingly eat them; but withal, they are so full of Gall and bitterness, that should I swallow them, they were in danger to come up again.

Har. 'Tis but gilding them then, Sir Roger; a few Presents from the Dissenting Party, I suppose, will make 'em run down easily: But what are these cutting Expressions?

Reg. Why among other things, I have said, That *Liberty of Conscience* was a *Paradox* against Law, Reason, Nature and Religion: [Obs. Vol. 3. Numb. 4.] And should I now unsay all this, the Wags would make such work with me, as I formerly did with *Richard* and *Baxter*.

Har. Have you never an old *Distinction* then left to help you out at a dead lift? I remember when I had occasion to consult your Writings, *distinguishing* was the best part of your Talent.

Reg. That you must know I have already attempted, when I perceived that an *Indulgence* was a brewing; I thought it was high time for me to draw back, and pull in my Horns; and therefore I immediately felt to work, and split the Hair. I artificially divide an *Indulgence* into an *Indulgence* granted, and an *Indulgence* taken; into an *Indulgence* that *shall owe it self to the favour of the Prince*, and an *Indulgence*,
Indulgence,

Indulgence that shall be got by the Importunities of the People: [Observ. Vol. 3. Num. 43.] By thus nicely distinguishing the Matter, I was in hopes to rectify the present Toleration from the strokes of my former Animadversions; and in my Answer to the Letter to a Dissenter, my telling the Dissenters, that *The Declaration of Indulgence ran to them, and not they to the Declaration*, [Answer to the Letter p. 3.] I think was a full Comment upon the Text as it stands thus divided.

Har. Methinks, Sir Roger, this distinction is very ridiculous, and I can compare it to nothing more, than to a Decree of the Council of *Constant*, which, I remember ever since I writ my Pacquet, run thus: Upon the Debate about the Communion in one kind, it was ordered, that when the Laity desired the Cup, it was by all means to be denied them; but if they would submit to the *non obstante*, to our Saviours Institution, and not desire it, then they might be allowed to partake of it: So that, *Ask and ye shall receive*, it seems is a Rule that will by no means hold in the case of Toleration.

Reg. I must Confess I was there hard put to it, and you may be sure, that 'twas not willingly that I took my leave so abruptly of the *Observer*, and went trailing like a Blood-hound, after the Murder of Sir E.B.G.

Har. Let Murder alone, when all comes to all, 'tis but saying that he was a Heretic, and then Killing you know is no Murder. Our business must now be to get off the *Penal Laws*.

Reg. Penal Laws! Had my endeavours succeeded, they should have been kept up to the end of the Chapter, ay and as right too as any Fiddle-string: could I but have brought over the Church of *England* men, our business had been done; and I think I drew as good a Scheme for accomodation, as ever *Cassander* did, or the Bishop of *Salaz*: Had that project took, the *Penal Laws* would have been as useful to us as the *Inquisition*; and then I had boldly affirmed; That neither the Church of *England*, nor the Members of the Church of *Rome*, could be join'd in a Toleration with the *Phanaticks*, but wish the certain ruin of both [Observ. Vol. 3. Num.

134.]

Har. These Church of *England* men are very obstinate.

Reg. Ay, and perverse too, inso much that you would as soon persuade the Pope to part with the Franchises, as bring them to pray to the People in an unknown Tongue. Fother-day a Friend of ours (I suppose after reading my Project of Accommodation) asked a Church-man, in case the Church of *Rome* should give up *Transubstantiation*, what would the Church of *England* part with in order to a Reconciliation? And what dost think the Church-man offered in exchange?

Har. Why, the nine and thirty Articles I suppose.

Reg. I protest only *Passive Obedience*; and I would no more take that Principle from them, than I would unshake a Mad-man; Passive Valour is a Virtue I love in an Enemy, and 'tis as necessary for our Preservation that they hold this Doctrine, as 'tis for the Grand Seignior that a Bassa believes that of *Rashid*, when he is to undergo the Discipline of the Bow-string.

Har.

Har. I give the Church of England Men for lost, and therefore for my part my Province shall be to gain the Dissenters; I think the Wind blows fairest from that side.

Reg. Prithce *Harry*, how canst thou be either beloved by the *Papists*, or beloved by the *Dissenters*? I am sure you have spoke as severe things of the *Papists*, as ever I did of the *Phanatics*, and yet by a sudden turn you are become as gracious, as if you were a Convert of some considerable standing.

Har. I perceive you don't understand the Virtue of Holy Water; this powerful Sprinkling will immediately restore a Man to the State of Innocence: Had *Adam* but known this easie Receipt, he would never have been at the Expence of Fig-leaves. You must know I have all my old Sins forgiven me, and I am now as clean as if I had been over head and ears in *Jordan*.

Reg. But all thy Washing will not clear thy Contradictions; thy *Pacquet of Advice*, and the *Weekly Occurrences* are as opposite as Fire and Water; and I wonder how thou canst so shamefully prevaricate, without one single Blush to alter thy Complexion. When I was press'd hard with my former Opinions, I set off the false Coin with some plausible Varnish, and always distinguished where I could not fairly deny, but thou wou'dst fain cheat even in sight of daylight; thy Juggle is so easily detected, that by thus openly publishing thy Shame, one wou'd think this Task was given thee, not so much that thy Masters had need of thy Pains, as to oblige thee to a Penance.

Har. Puh, Sir *Reger*, you know words are wind, and why should one no more than t'other be tied to one point of the Compass; he that can turn and double upon a Stage, is always applauded for his performance? and why may not a dexterous Change of Opinion be as much commended for the activity of the Brain, as the other is for the Agility of Body.

Reg. In troth, *Harry*, I must confess thy Brain is of a very singular Constitution, and thy late Writings are such Originals, that for my part, I think thou deservest to have a Patent for Scribbling; thou art of late the very Darling of the *Papists*, and thou carriest on the business of *Rome* so vigorously, that I do not doubt in a short time to see thee Secretary to the Conclave.

Har. Why, I believe I do them no small Service with my *Occurrences*; I take from them the Odium of Persecution, by fixing it upon the Church of England; I fill the Peoples Heads so full with Penal Laws, that there is no room left for the Inquisition; and if any one blabs about Queen Marys Days, I immediately stop his Mouth with the thirty fifth of *Elizabeth*.

Reg. But you are very frugal in giving Instances of the Severities of the Church of England, not above one in a Paper.

Har. You must know, he that has not much Butter, must spread it thin; I must make the most of what I have, for I am afraid hereafter I am not like to have from that side any more Examples: But if you observe, I manage matters to the best Advantage: When once upon a time, there was taken from a Quaker

a Warming-pan for the Church Dues; I put in a notable *Innuendo*, and hinted, that 'twas then cold *Weather*; what think you, may not that be called the *Warming-pan Persecution*?

Reg. Ay, that was indeed hot and fiery, to take a *Warming-pan* from a *Quaker*, was a little too unchristian, whom not only the *Season*, but his *Religion* obliged to frequent Fits of Shaking.

Har. And now you talk of your *distinguishing*, I think I have had lately a notable Fetch that way too: When I had in one of my *Occurrences* accused the *Clergy* of London of cheating the *Poor* of *Sion Colledge*, in keeping from them the *Charity* of their *Founder*. [Occur. Numb. 11.] And the Malice and Fallhood of my Accusation being unluckily published, I was hard put to it to avoid the Charge of evil Speaking, Lying and Slandering; therefore in my next Paper, I did profess, that in my former Story, I did not intend to reflect upon the *London Clergy*: [Occur. Num. 12.] So that here is the *Clergy* of *London*, and the *London Clergy* make up a very serviceable *Distinction*.

Reg. Your *Occurrences* then I perceive are to insult over the Church of *England*, and thereby to divert the *Papists* and gain the *Dissenters*.

Har. You are in the right on't; this Church of *England* you know is our greatest *Obstacle*; it vexes me to think that an *Heretical Church* should be by *Law* established; these *Laws* are such unlucky ways of fortifying, that they stand more in our way than *Walls* and *Bastions*. Could we but once level their *Works*, you would not find it long before we fell to storming, and I think we have already made some considerable *Advances*.

Reg. And do the *Dissenters* come on kindly?

Har. Why truly some of them are pretty forward, and we favour them accordingly; we do as the *Patriarchs* did of old, he that comes in first receives the *Blessing*; if they promise fairly, then we place them in convenient *Stations*, we put them in such *Posts* that are something for their *Honour*, as well as for our *Use*.

Reg. I must confess for my part, I am not for advancing the *Dissenters* too much; and though I cannot but approve of their present Behaviour, yet I am not for trusting them too far, for they are slippery *Creatures*.

Har. Trusting them quoth a! Why who does? Have you ever seen a *Dissenter* at the Head of a *Regiment*? Have you ever heard that any of them was made *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, or *Governour* of a *Garrison*? The *Offices* they are generally put into, are *Places* of *Expense* and not *Profit*. If any of them has a *Mandat* to be *Mayor* or *Alderman* of a *Town*; he is so *precarious* in his *Office*, that he dares not make one false *Step*, upon pain of another *Regulation*: and withal, they commonly act in *Conjunction* with *Papists*; so that they are no more than *Under-Workmen*, they are only employed, not trusted.

Reg. Here is a Dissenter coming; I guess he comes to beg your assistance; *Harry*, either to present an *Address*, or to get a *Commission* to regulate some *Sub-born Corporation*. He looks as if he had a spite to the Tests and Penal Laws.

Har. Let me alone, I'll warrant you I manage him to advantage, and if I do not make him as rank a Repealer as any in *England*, I'll forfeit all the Gain of my Occurrences.

Reg. Well, I'll take my Leave of you, and at our next Meeting shall expect an account of your Transactions, and in what forwardness Affairs stand for a Parliament. Farewel.

Enter an Honest Dissenter.

Dissenter. Gentlemen, I am sorry I have disturbed you, and that I should be the occasion of breaking up so choice and select a Meeting. My Business is only with you, *Harry*, and not so urgent neither, but that I can retire, and call upon you at your leisure.

Harry. Sir, you are heartily welcome, I am never so engaged, but that I am always ready to wait upon a Person of your Character. Yours, I am sure, is *Publick Business*; and since I have not of late seen your hand to an *Address*, I doubt not but you come now at least some hundreds strong.

Diff. That is not at present my business. You must know, there is a *small Place* in his Majesties Service lately fallen vacant, which lies so conveniently in my Neighbourhood, that as it may not be of such advantage to another, so no one perhaps can so easily attend the Duty with so much diligence as my self; and therefore since I am told, that now all Offices are disposed of *without distinction*; I hope by virtue of former Acquaintance, I may beg your Interest on my Behalf.

Har. Before I can appear your Friend, you must answer me first to some few Questions; for no man must expect his Reward, before he can say his Catechism. Will you, whenever there is a Parliament call'd, endeavour to choose such men as will take off the Test and Penal Laws?

Diff. What is the meaning of this?

Har. You must know then, that no one is to be either promoted to, or continued in an Office, who will not answer affirmatively to this Question.

Diff. Why, this is encouraging Test with Test, setting one Nail to drive out another; if a man be not qualified for an Office but upon such Conditions: You seem to set up as hard things as those you would have abrogated. For what is the difference between your obliging a Man to abjure the Test and the Laws, requiring him to renounce *Transubstantiation*? but only this, that

that for my part, I think renouncing *Transubstantiation* to be the more business.

Har. There is a greater difference than you may imagine: for the Declaration that is required by the Law, is a *violence* to a Man's *Conscience*: 'tis obliging him to renounce an Article of his Faith; whereas the Tests are Matters purely political; they were *promoted by a Faction*, and designed only to gratify a *Party which is pleased to call it self* the Church of England.

Diff. Hold there, *Harry*, these words are something too severe; let me tell you, you cannot make the *enacting* of these *Laws* to be the business of a *Faction*, without putting the late *King* and his *Parliament* at the very Head on't; and it does not become you to speak so irreverently of a *Crowned Head*, though it lies in Ashes. But suppose a Man should believe in his Conscience, that the Tests are a great Security to the *Protestant Religion*, and that the Consequence of repealing them will be the introducing of *Papery*; (as I must necessarily think of those many Noble and worthy Gentlemen, who lately lost their Employments upon this very Question) is not the turning of such a one out of his *Office*, which perhaps is his whole Subsistence, for not consenting to repeal these Tests, not only a *Privative*, but according to your wise Distinction, a *positive inflicting of Penalties on the souls of Conscience*? [Occur. Numb. 9.] For is not he that thinks his whole Religion to be in danger, as much concerned in his Conscience, as another that is so tender of one single Article?

Har. But these are groundless apprehensions: the Protestant Religion will be secure without these Tests, and I have over and over proved that they are but *Mud walls*. Surely you have never seen my *Occurrences*.

Diff. Ay, that I have, and at the same time that I could laugh at your Jest, I was offended at your Scurrilities: and now you put me in mind, I have seen your *Pacquet of Advice from Rome* too: there I remember you say, *That no mortal Man can embrace or countenance the Popish Religion, but either a deserv'g Knave, or a cajol'd self-wild' Fool*. [Pacq. vol. 3. p. 15.] Now I cannot believe that you look upon either of these Characters to be very honourable.

Har. I wou'd have the Papists be admitted into Offices as well as other Subjects; and they may sometimes happen to have better Abilities to serve their King and Country, than those that wou'd exclude them. [Occur. Numb. 9.]

Diff. Certainly, *Harry*, thou art made up either of Knavery or Forgetfulness; though I am afraid Knavery is the chief Ingredient in thy Composition. Have not you said in your *Pacquet*, *that you cou'd wish we were fairly rid of two and fifty thousand Papists, and yet you believ'd, and wou'd undertake to prove the King should not lose one good Subject by the Bargain*. [Pacq. vol. 1. p. 143.]

Har. You should not so spitefully recollect my former Opinions; you shoud consider not so much my *old faults* as my *present arguments*; and if my carriage at this time may make you entertain any hard thoughts of my person: though you may not believe the *man*, yet I hope you will be convinced by his *reasons*.

Diff. Why truly whenever I see a forehead of Brass, I am apt to believe, that what is within is of no better mettall. To be *always false and shifting*, is methinks a temper so mean and creeping, so very like the race of the Serpent, that to be overcome by such a one's insinuation, is not to be persuaded but *be-trayed*.

Har. Is it not unreasonable that the Papists should be debarred of those privileges and advantages which they are born to? And since they are under unequal obligation of duty with other Subjects, why should not they have the same right? As 'tis in other Countries, where Protestants and Papists have an equal share in the Government. [Ocurr. Numb. 9.]

Diff. Prithee shew me but *one* Country where there are but *four* Papists to one Protestant, and the Protestants allowed to enjoy equal Priviledges with the Papists: If this cannot be done, why then should the Papists of *our* Nation look upon it as unequal dealing in this Government to keep them from Offices, when their number is not as yet perhaps above *one* in *two* hundred? unless they assume some extraordinary Priviledges to their Persons as well as their Religions, and pretend that their very Civil Rights are Catholicick.

Har. But these Test-Laws are unjust: they *set up an Inquisition into mens thoughts, put their Souls on the Rack*; so that a Papist must either starve or violate his Conscience. [ibid.]

Diff. I perceive, *Harry*, your compassion leans much on the Papish side; and you do not seem much concerned, whether a Protestant dies in his Bed, or on a Dung-hill, for if the *loss of employments* be an infallible symptom of *starving*; I am afraid there will be found of late more Church of England Men put into those uneasy circumstances, than there are Papists of any note in the whole Nation. And since you would persuade us, that the grand project is to employ *all* men *equally*, without any regard to their persuasions; methinks it does not at all become you in policy, to give such early instances of *partiality*.

Har. Are not there Church of England men preferred as well as other men? do not you see them daily made *Deans and Bishops*, &c.

Diff. So have I seen *Bulls and Bears* wear Top-knots; but I presume they would never have gone to the expence of adorning the *Brutes*, were it not on purpose to *expose* the fashion. Prithee, *Harry*, there are Knaves of all persuasions, and the Church as well as the *Barn* breeds Vermin.

Har. Why are you so much afraid of Papists being put into publick Employments? I'll assure you they are not such men as you do imagine; and whosoever says they are *bloody* and *cruel*, foully *misrepresents* them, and does not draw them in their proper colours.

Diff. Pray, *Harry*, how long have you had such a favourable opinion of their good Nature? what, *are all the holy Candles out, that you formerly sold us, were made of Protestant Grease at the Irish Massacre?* [*Pacq. Nov. 19. 1680.*] Are there no Popish Fires but that which burnt the City? Or have the *French Protestants* think you, left their Estates and come over only for the advantage of a Collection? These are too bitter things, *Harry*, to be so easily digested: and if I be not much mistaken, I can shew you that some of them are bound by Oaths to give *Hereticks no better quarter.*

Har. Surely there is no such thing?

Diff. I do assure you I had it from a very substantial Author.

Har. Pray who is it? I'll warrant you one of our modern *Misrepresenters.*

Diff. No I'll assure you; I had it from the worthy Author of the *Pacquet of Advice from Rome*; and certainly he must needs know best what was done there, where he kept his weekly correspondence. 'Tis the Oath, which all Popish Bishops take at the time of their Consecration: My Author has it at large, but I shall here only give you the Clause of it. *And all Hereticks, Schismaticks, and such as rebel against our Lord the Pope, or his Successors, I shall to the uttermost of my power, persecute, imprison, and condemn.* So help me, &c. [*Pacq. Jan. 30. 1679.*]

Har. And does not the Church of England with all her Penal Laws come upon your Brethren with the same severities?

Diff. Pray where is a Church better seen than in her *Articles* and *Canons*? And if these are to be looked upon as the Standards of her *Doctrine*; to give the Church of England her due, she in her 66. Canon requires her Bishops and Ministers to endeavour by *instruction* and *persuasion* to reclaim all Recusants within their respective limits: and if some of her Communion, did put the Laws in Execution against us with too much rigour; the present *promotion* of several of those Instruments of our Miseries, would tempt a man to believe, that what they did was not so much out of *mistake*, as by *order*.

Har. But now you have a Commission to enquire into what money was taken from you upon the account of your Religion; and for in some measure you may make your selves whole again.

Diff. Prithce *Harry*, why dost not send us to the *Spanish Wrack* to dive for Gold and Silver? on my conscience I believe it wou'd be to as much purpose. If you will procure us all that was returned into the *Exchequer*, that will indeed encourage and enable us to sue for the rest; and surely you do not think that

the

the *Exchequer* ought to thrive by *oppression* no more than a private Gentleman's pocket.

Har. If you consent to take off the *Tests*, you do not know what may be done for you; and methinks you of all people shou'd be ready to comply, since you are so much obliged for the *Tolerance*: and you know one good turn always requires another.

Diff. Suppose the Church of *England* men had conspired to take off the *Tests*, do'st think then we shou'd have been such *Favorites*? I find it was our turn to be asked last: we have something of *Original sin* that still sticks to us; and I am afraid when *Popery* comes in, we that have *no foundation*, and are as it were *strangers* in the Land, must expect that this *Liberty* will only *encrease* our future task, and puts us further into the house of *bondage*.

Har. You shall have a *Magna Charta* for *Liberty of Conscience*; and that you know, is like the *Laws* of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable.

Diff. I must be a fool by thy own *Maxim*, if I believe thee; for have not you said in your *Pacquet* that he is only fit to be *Recorder* of *Goatham*, who does not foresee that if ever the *Papists* prevail, *Magna Charta* and the *Bible* must down together. [*Pocq.* Nov. 21. 1679.] But now I think on't, how will this *Magna Charta*, and the *Magna Charta* of the Council of *Lateran* stand together? which is so far from giving *Liberty of Conscience*, that it will not allow *Hereticks* the common privilege of *living*.

Har. Has not *Sir Roger* cleared that difficulty sufficiently? when he told you, that when they are rightly distinguished, they may very well stand together: for the *Decrees* of the Church of *Rome* are *Religious*, this *Liberty* you are offered is a *civil point*. [*Answ.* to the *Letters*. p. 7.]

Diff. Well now I find true, what I always suspected; that this *Liberty* was grounded upon a trick of *State*; and not upon a *Religious* conviction of Judgment. So that when the Government shall not stand in need of such *Arts*; that is, when *Popery* is too powerful to submit to such condescensions; we must expect to be thrown off, and sink again into the state of suffering.

Har. I do assure you, it has been the constant judgment of *Papists*, that men all ought to have *Liberty of Conscience*: and they are very ill men, and you ought not to joyn with them who wou'd persuade you to the contrary.

Diff. *Divide & impera*, I know is the *Papist's* rule, as well as the *Politician's*. *Prithce Harry*, he that is but Eight and twenty years old, has lived long enough to see their methods of destroying the *Protestant Religion*: and it is mostly by playing fast and loose with the *Dissenters*. Sometimes the *Dissenter* is a *Heretick* and a *Rebel*, and all the cry must be, *Crucifie him, crucifie him*; at another time he is all innocence, *What harm has he done? We'll release him and let*

let him go. Thus by intermittent fits of *ease* and *rigour*, they endeavour to shake and undermine that foundation; against which their arguments have not strength to prevail.

Har. But this *indulgence* was so *frankly* offered you, that you cannot choose but make *substantial returns* for such unexpected civilities.

Diff. Proffered service in some case is not only *unacceptable*, but *nauseous*; for when all the Arguments of *Reason* and *Religion* could not prevail; to find an unexpected fit of affection, makes the kindness something suspicious, and all the endearing expressions may proceed not so much from *Love*, as *Disimulation*; a politick design may be in the bottom, and a Snake may lie in the Grass that looks so fresh and flourishing.

Har. I find you still continue in your groundless suspicion of the Papists: methinks they are the most reasonable men alive; for if they do repeal your Laws, they promise you *Equipollent securities*.

Diff. I must tell you *Harry*, the *Papists* are the worst men in the World to pretend to *insure* the *Protestant* Religion from Fire and Faggot: their love to Hereticks, we know, is generally *boe* and *flaming*, and 'tis rarely that any of them vouchsafes to *kiss*, but when 'tis to bring in others that come with *Swords* and *Staves*. And what is this *Equipollent* security to be? An *Act* of *Parliament*.

Har. Yes, but such an *Act* that shall be *unalterable*; and not in the power of future ages to revoke.

Diff. Sir, Hold, not too fast there, you will ruine the *Dispensing Power* else; for if the King may not *suspend* that *Act* too at pleasure, what will become of those Officers, who have made so bold with the Laws in being? for the consequence must reach all *Acts* alike.

Har. Ay, but these *Tests* are in their *nature* unjust, and dangerous to the Government in their *consequence*; and so no matter, what becomes of them.

Diff. And will not that *Law*, think you, be *unjust*, which cramps the King's *natural* and *inherent* right of *suspending* Acts of Parliament? so that *this Law* or the mighty *Prerogative* of *suspending* immediately falls to the ground; and which do you think will most likely get the better on't? Besides that *Law*, if it be *equipollent*, must exclude all *Romish Priests* from Officiating in any publick Church or Chappel within the Kingdom: Now if it be, according to you, so *impious* to exclude Papists from serving the King in *publick Offices*; what a *monstrous* piece of *impiety* will Popish Judges interpret that *Law* to be, which excludes the Priests from serving God in his *Publick Worship*? and therefore the apparent consequence of repealing our Laws to me will be this; that hereafter we shall have all Popish Governors both in Church and State; and to us will be left the Merit of *obedience*, and the Glory of *suffering*; only I am afraid we shall

shall much Eclipse that Glory, upon some Melancholy considerations that we have had a hand in our *own expiation*.

Har. Well, I perceive you will not give me a Categorical answer to my *Question*. You will have the same more formally put to you ere long, and I do not doubt when you have taken time to consider, but you will return a very satisfactory answer.

Diff. To be short with you then ; the sum of my opinion is this: That consider my self as an *Englishman* as well as a *Protestant* ; and whatever I conceive may *directly* or by *consequence* prejudice my *Religion*, or *Civil Rights*, I think my self obliged not to consent to it, as I am to answer it to GOD and my COUNTRY *so farewell*.

THE

The GROWTH, the DEGRAY, and Changes of GOVERNMENTS,
 and what is to be Describ'd by POLIBIUS.

MAN is naturally Civil, and disposed to love Company, and not more a Beast than those that walk on four feet, than the Beasts themselves that go in Flocks and Herds; and in like manner as the strongest Bore, and the strongest Bull is always the Captain of the rest; so in these Companies of men, he amongst them who was most hardy to encounter dangers, and had most of bodily strength to overcome them, had the rest for his followers: And thence it was that so many Nations had each their *Heracles*, and that so many came to be called by that name: And in those rude times these were the first sort of Kings.

But by conversing together this rudeness wearing off by degrees, and men by little and little coming to be somewhat more polisht, to have something of consideration, & the use of their Reason, & to understand Justice and honest dealing, and to see the advantages that Prudence & a wise head had over raw uncultivated strength, not only in deciding Controversies and administering Justice, but even in providing against and repelling of dangers. He therefore now, who was most eminent for wisdom and justice, drew most eyes upon him, and to him all ran and submitted their differences to his Arbitration, his advice they took, and his direction they followed on all occasions either of difficulty or danger; and these were called the *Wise Men*, and these were the true and proper Kings.

Now the Son, who had his Education under such a virtuous, wise Father, & had been present with him when affairs of the greatest importance had been debated, & by common presumption better capacitated to govern, than any of a *stranger* Family: The Son, I say, succeeds his Father in this Kingly Government, no man envying him the dignity, nor did these Kings differ from other people in their manner of living, there was no pomp or shew, or any badge of the *Authority Royal*, but the wooden Scepter which *Homer* describes, (*which perhaps was like our Constables staff*) and with this the Authority was handed down from Father to Son, till in tract of time some young man came in place, who giving ear to some loose *Companions* about him, would no longer be content with the plainness & ordinary fare of his Ancestors, but gives himself over to riot & excess, setting his mind on gorgeous apparel, on Trains and Trappings, on Feasting & Revels: by these new modes he loses the hearts of his Subjects, draws envy upon him; that reverence paid to the Scepter in the hands of his *Progenitors*, now turns into contempt, & he still running headlong after his vain pleasures & flouting pernicious courses, not heeding the duty of his place, grows a burthen to the people, & instead of being their refuge, their relief and support, rides and galls their necks, & makes their lives bitter: So that how to throw off the yoke is now their only care; and matters being thus ripe, or the young Prince with his Comrades hastning on his fate by some outrage, or rape upon Wife or Daughter of some considerable Subject, some of the most eminent amongst the people conspire together, & put an end to his life and Tyranny.

And all eyes being now turn'd upon these as their deliverers, the Government

and Conduct of all Affairs is committed to their charge and direction. Thus rises an Aristocracy, and thus we see Monarchy first corrupted into Tyranny, and the next change from thence in course of Nature is to an Aristocracy.

And these men eminent for wisdom and virtue satisfied with the honour of the charge & trust reposed in them, above all things studied to serve the publick; but afterwards their Sons coming to succeed, who had not that stock of discretion & sobriety, but degenerating or forgetting the virtue that preferred their Ancestors, begin to Lord it over the people without other regard than of their particular lust. And thus the Aristocracy being corrupted into an Oligarchy, the people are provoked by a general insurrection to rescue the Sovereignty out of their hands.

And now the people will neither trust so great a charge with a single Person nor with any few; they come to their last only and yet untainted hope, founded upon themselves, and contriv'd a form of popular Common-wealth, and they themselves took the publick affairs under their charge and protection; and thus was constituted a Democracy.

And because all Governments are good & successful at the beginning, so long as the men were alive, who had felt the oppression & tyranny under the two former kinds of Governments, they were content & glad with their present condition, & liberty seem'd sweet and precious to 'em above all treasure. But this Generation being spent & their virtue with 'em, a new People succeeded, & the Laws are now trampled under foot: Licentiousness, Faction, & Disorder turn all things upside down, and they clash together so long till some one over-throwing the rest, all are brought under the Command of one Master; & so about again from Monarchy to Tyranny, from Tyranny to Aristocracy, from Aristocracy to Oligarchy, from Oligarchy to Democracy, from Democracy to the Rule of the Rabble, and thence back to Monarchy. This is the round that all Governments run, this is the course, the order, and oecumeny of Nature; so that any turns or change of Government may easily be foreseen.

Wise Statesmen observing these changes and corruptions in all simple Common-wealths to be so constant and certain, and finding the mischiefes that attend so frequent revolutions; they set their Brains at work to contrive some model of Government that might be steady and durable, which they saw could not be any simple and uniform Common-wealth: It remain'd therefore that they mixed the virtues and good properties of the three good Common-wealths, and so temper'd them together that no room might be left for those vices that, like worms, breed in the very core of all simple Common-wealths and destroy them.

They join'd the three States of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, and wrought them together into one Body Politick.

This model of Government had the Spartans from the prudence of Lycurgus, and the Romans were brought to it, made wise by dear-bought Experience: And this is the Government that all civil Nations have affected, and from thence grows that portion of the three States which we hear so much of in most Nations of Europe, though the meaning thereof is not every where understood.

Belief and favour are our own as secure as England: We sup-
 pose my Father here give you an Account of the Posture of Af-
 fairs in those Countries: the Scotch and Irish are all Heirs of Bar-
 then, born for our Yoke. (Ireland and Wales) those Glorious
 Nations of our Cheese and Dainties have brought the Natives to
 Obedience, and our English are already very easy
 Pards, only if we curb them too hard, and let too often, they'll
 kick and misbehave sometimes, and afterwards run over to the
 Dutch, who (according to our unshaken Advice, till now come,
 since we were the foreign Lines) are preparing to Unkiss us
 and are determined to that we are now talking to you; pray pro-
 vide us good Dainties and good Great, for we have first very
 delicious in England, and have to think of returning to our
 Cells again. Thus till we see you.

Respectfully,
 Richard, Father

From the College
 in the 28th,
 Sept. 28. 1688.

Your most affectionate Friend,

R. P. T. B. R. P. R.

F I N I S